

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1878.

The Week.

THE President returned the Silver Bill to the House on Thursday unsigned, with his objections. These were, that the silver dollar authorized by the bill is worth from 8 to 10 per cent. less than it purports to be worth, and "is made a legal tender for debts contracted when the law did not recognize such coins as lawful money"; that by being made receivable for duties it will in time put an end to the gold revenue of the Government, "and thus compel payment of silver for both the principal and interest of the public debt"; that of the bonded debt \$1,143,493,400 now outstanding was issued prior to February, 1873, when the silver dollar was unknown in circulation, and only served as a convenient form of bullion for exportation; that \$583,440,350 of the funded debt has been issued since that date, "when gold alone was the coin for which the bonds were sold, and gold alone was the coin in which both parties to the contract understood that the bonds would be paid"; that silver being at the time greatly depreciated in the markets of the world, no one would have taken the bonds if made payable in silver; that \$225,000,000 of them have been sold during the present Administration for gold coin, with the advantage of a corresponding reduction of the interest on the national debt to four per cent.; that in the progress of these sales the public doubt lest the bonds might be paid in silver was quieted by the authorized statement that such payment could never be sanctioned by Congress or by any department of the Government; and that "in view of these facts it will justly be regarded as a grave breach of the public faith to undertake to pay these bonds, principal or interest, in silver coin worth in the market less than the coin received for them." The message then notices the expectation that the silver dollar will be brought to a par with the gold, and points out the absence of any provision, in case of the opposite contingency, for exempting pre-existing debts from the operation of the bill. On the other hand, a deliberate design to pay off old debts in depreciated silver will receive the reprobation of mankind. "The silver dollar should be made a legal tender only at its market value. The standard of value should not be changed without the consent of both parties to the contract. National promises should be kept with unflinching fidelity." The President concludes by declaring that he cannot approve a bill which, in his judgment, "authorizes the violation of sacred obligations"; and that a false currency "will in the end defraud not only creditors, but all who are engaged in legitimate business, and none more surely than those who are dependent on their daily labor for their daily bread."

The "further consideration of the bill" for which the message entreated was contemptuously refused by Congress. The Republicans who lately viewed with unspeakable horror the return of Confederate brigadiers to the House, promptly rallied to the support of the Vice-President of the Confederacy when he moved that the bill be passed over the veto. The one hour which Mr. Stephens granted for debate—the only debate which the House has had directly upon the bill—was consumed in incoherent five-minute ejaculations rather than speeches, and the vote showed 196 for and 72 against the measure. Without delay the Senate followed in the footsteps of the House. The message was not so much as ordered to be printed or referred to the customary committee, nor did the great statesman from New York manifest the smallest desire to protest or to argue the general question. The vote stood 46 for to 19 against the bill, the only significant incident being the somersault of Senator Hill, of Georgia, who meekly joined the throng of repudiationists, as if some

recent glittering generalities of his, on teaching the rising generation to be honest, had been misconstrued by those who expected him to set the example.

The Senate and the House have also flagrantly disregarded the wishes of the Administration by passing a bill which authorizes the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of Mississippi to hold a special session at Scranton, in Jackson County. This is a deliberate obstruction of Secretary Schurz's endeavors to put an end to the systematic and long-established practice of stripping the public lands of timber in the interest of private adventurers. He has been so far successful that the aid of Government (*i.e.*, Congress) has been invoked against the Government (*i.e.*, the Executive), and the bill in question aims to secure trials in the heart of the lumber districts, where the lumber rings can furnish juries, public sentiment, and all other influences adverse to the course of justice. Mr. Blaine improved the opportunity to vent his spite on the Administration. He was, on another occasion, reinforced by Mr. Conkling, when the bill to provide a temporary substitute for the pension agent at New York came up. Col. Frank Howe had been removed, and his successor had not yet been able to secure the required bonds. This made cutting allusions to civil-service reform in order; but the bill passed all the same, since giving offence to pensioners is not a sin that the average Congressman will be guilty of. On Wednesday week the House passed a bill authorizing a review of the court-martial of Surgeon-General Hammond in the early days of the war; on Thursday, a bill compelling Naval estimates to be made in detail; on Monday, the Senate bill ordering pensions for fourteen-day service in the war of 1812, with restoration to the rolls (without back pay) of those stricken off for disloyalty during the rebellion; and on Tuesday, a bill paying the way for the final disposition of the Chinese Indemnity Fund. The Senate has confirmed Mr. Bayard Taylor's appointment as Minister to Germany.

The President's share in the silver legislation has been so manly and courageous at the close that it will go far to atone for his previous reticence, in the eyes of those who have been troubled by his not having offered some active opposition to the craze in its earlier stages. The message, too, is wisely confined to points on which there can be absolutely no difference of opinion among honest men, and which can only be met by the fable about the fraudulent demonetization. If he had taken up the economical objections to the bill in detail, he would have obscured the issue in the eyes of all that portion of the public which must be relied on hereafter to chain up the devil of knavery, which now seems to have been let loose upon the country. We have no doubt the message will do much to sustain the price of American securities abroad, by leading people to believe that the sober second thought of the country will be with him. He has resisted so much temptation on this point, and has met the opinion even of his own State with so much firmness, that it makes one wonder the more that in the work of civil-service reform he has not been able "to put his foot down" with greater firmness.

As to the probable financial consequences of the Silver Bill they will hardly be visible for a year. The largest amount of silver coin which can be put into circulation within that period is \$48,000,000, but this will produce little effect on the circulation, as it will keep rolling in and out of the Treasury for customs duties. We believe the measure has not received the support or approval of a single person whose opinion on matters of finance has ever had any repute, or of many who had ever given finance any attention until they began to clamor for silver. Nine-tenths at least of those who are prominent in its advocacy are in embarrassed circumstances, or laden with some speculative commodity, so that their support of it resembles the

bellowing of a mired ox rather than the arguments of an economist. Indeed, the all but certainty with which, when one enquires into the private affairs of a glib silver-man, one comes on unsalable real estate, or unprofitable stocks or mines, has for some time been one of the Washington jokes. The effect on the relation of gold and greenbacks has been thus far rather to approximate them, and, indeed, the prospective release of gold from the work of duty-paying will probably help to keep it down. As to the price of silver, which has declined in London, the silver-men are likely to chuckle whichever way it goes. If it falls, it will *pro tanto* increase the advantage over their creditors given them by the bill; if it rises, it will justify one of their prophecies that remonetization would raise it to par. At present they are filled all over the country with a kind of drunken joy, which is stimulated by the usual "falling into line" of a good many anti-silver papers, in obedience to the popular will.

The Barbour Tax Bill, just vetoed by Governor Holliday of Virginia, provides a tax-rate of fifty cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property; of this, ten cents is set aside for the public schools, twenty-five cents for the support of the government, and fifteen cents for the interest on the debt and other purposes. This last tax is made payable in coupons, all the rest in money, although the coupons are, of course, in the hands of the creditors of the State, and although it is declared on their face that "they shall be received in payment of all State taxes and other public dues." This bill the Governor pronounces "both unjust and unconstitutional," all attempts to take away the receivability of the coupons for taxes having been pronounced by the courts unconstitutional and void. One of the most specious grounds on which the passage of the Barbour bill was urged was the sacredness of the public schools, but the Governor insists in very strong language that "a State has no more right to educate its youths, than an individual his children, at the expense of creditors." He points out that education at such a cost would not be worth having, and appeals to the Legislature not to taint the school system of the State with repudiation. The veto was unexpected, and its sentiments were not agreeable to the "readjusters," who tried to prevent its being read. The Speaker of the House, however, decided that the minority had a right to insist on this being done. A caucus of the "readjusters" was therefore held, at which a committee was appointed and some pathetic speeches made; one senator taking the ground that the message would "convey to the people more of sadness, sorrow, and disappointment than anything that had happened since their flag went down at Appomattox Courthouse," while another declared that the veto, if sustained, sounded "the death-knell of the Conservative party in Virginia." The Governor, however, has been sustained in the House by a vote of 71 to 42.

The South Carolina frauds have almost ceased to attract attention outside the State; but another report has been made by the "Fraud Committee" on the corrupt expenditures for printing, which is a curiosity in its way. It contains the private diary of Josephus Woodruff, the Clerk of the Senate elected in 1868, through whom the fraudulent payments under this head were made. The frauds were enormous in extent—the amount paid from 1868 to 1876 for printing being \$1,326,589, a sum greater than the printing-bills of the State (including those paid during the war in Confederate currency) from the establishment of the State Government down to 1868—and brazen in character, as may be inferred from the fact that "a piano for McKinney" appears as one item. Woodruff seems to have been a pious thief, and his diary is mainly interesting as an unreserved exhibition of this type of character, so frequently found among "statesmen" just now. From what he says the depredations in which he was engaged do not seem to have struck him as particularly bad, because he regarded them as part of "politics" as usually carried on. He considers the robbery merely as a subject for levity, remarking that "Printers are the light of the world, and should be taken care of as preferred creditors"; and, in

expressing the hope that he may get the office of State Treasurer, records an intention in that event to "begin studying finance in earnest." This light humor does not interfere in the least with his piety, and he seems to have carefully avoided through all his straits the vice of profanity. "God grant," he exclaims, "that I may be saved from swearing!" One singular entry in his diary is an expression of regret (this is the only thing which he admits regretting) on account of a payment of \$10,000 to "Chamberlain." Who can this be?

The machinery of the fraud is curiously like that of the Tweed Ring in getting up the famous "New York Printing Co.," in which the municipal thieves were stockholders, and plundered the Treasury in printing-bills. The "Carolina Printing Co." was organized in like manner in 1870, the leading members of the ring, including Scott, Parker, and D. H. Chamberlain, being the chief stockholders, and as usual they owned two newspapers, and then went to work. Woodruff's diary tells the rest of the story. On one occasion the thieves seem to have fallen out, but (Jan. 12) Chamberlain brought about a reconciliation "in a very nice way." Jones and Woodruff then "called on Governor Moses about effecting a settlement." "It was a hard day for Sunday," adds the pious rascal, "and I trust God will forgive us for our actions, as we could not help it."

One of the colored jurors who sat on the Anderson trial has written to the papers confirming the story that he and the other colored juror were deceived as to the effect of their recommendation to mercy, and declares, while claiming credit for considerable intelligence, as having been born and bred free and having received a good school education, that had they known that a verdict of guilty would send Anderson to the penitentiary in spite of the recommendation, they never would have found it. In other words, they thought him guilty, but did not think he deserved the penitentiary. He also says that one of the deputy-sheriffs conversed freely in their room at night with one of the jurors, but does not say on what subject. The story that the jury was "packed to convict" he disposes of by showing that three jurors from the beginning held out for acquittal. We believe there is no doubt that Anderson is to be pardoned, but we trust Governor Nicholls will not pardon him to go back to the Custom-house. He ought to agree to quit public life before being released.

Cuban sympathizers have received a severe blow in the announcement of a general capitulation of the insurgents and an amnesty by the Spanish Government. The official announcement has been made in the Spanish Cortes of the surrender of the Cuban Central Committee, the Executive, and the principal chiefs of the insurrection. All the troops actually under arms appear to have laid them down, in accordance with an agreement previously arrived at, last Saturday. The facts relating to the surrender confirm the view which we have from time to time expressed in these columns as to the extremely slender military basis on which Cuban belligerency has always rested. The total number of "troops" mentioned in the despatches as having come in are three thousand, and that these were anything more than guerillas does not appear. The principal terms of the peace, which has been effected by the labors of General Campos and Captain-General Jovellar, as published, are as follows: Political rights for Cuba identical with those enjoyed by Porto Rico; general amnesty for offences since 1868; freedom to the insurgent slaves and coolies; safe conduct and transportation for any insurgent wishing to leave the island. There are said to be, besides these, secret agreements providing for a civil governor, with duties distinct from those of the military governor; a provincial parliament in each of the three departments; popular elections for municipal officers; the inclusion of the war debt in the public estimates of the island; the dissolution of the volunteer corps of Havana, and the organization

of a new militia, to be composed alike of Cubans and Spaniards; a representation of the island in the Cortes; a recognition of the military rank of the insurgent chiefs and officers, and those accredited with foreign commissions, their rank "to be effective only in the list of the Spanish army in Cuba"; and the complete abolition of slavery in five years, with indemnity.

The news of this peace found the New York branch of the Cuban government actively engaged in carrying on the insurrection in Exchange Place and Broad Street, as well as at Washington. Señor Echeverría, the diplomatic agent, was at the time advocating the recognition of belligerent rights among members of Congress; but he hastened to the seat of government, at No. 35 Broadway, where an anxious band of patriots were gathered to meet Brigadier Gonzales, fresh from Cuba, with important despatches. From his credentials it appears that the brigadier had been furnished the means of transportation by the Spanish general-in-chief, and that on February 8 the Chamber of Representatives "in the State of Camagüey" had been dissolved, the Presidency of the Republic "consequently abolished," and the powers delegated to the members "taken back" by the people and delegated by them to a new committee, headed by Colonel Juan Spoturno. On receipt of these credentials the Cuban agents in New York incontinently resigned. It is a black business, and it is only natural that the sudden collapse of the insurrection should be attributed in some quarters to the liberal use of "Spanish gold."

The events of the week which most concerned the London and New York financial markets were the conclusion of the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, and the enactment of the Bland Silver Bill, as amended by the Senate, over the veto of the President. The first caused a buoyant market for securities in London, consols advancing $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 per cent. from the recent low prices; the effect here was to depress breadstuffs and provisions, but, strange as it may read, the stocks of railroads which would be most benefited by a lively export trade, such as an extension of the war would give, advanced. As to the effects of the Silver Bill, the price of silver in London when it became a law was 55 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ounce; from this it has declined to 54 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ounce. United States bonds in London at first declined $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$, but afterwards advanced 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and through all these fluctuations ruled enough below New York prices to make it profitable to buy them on that side and sell them on this. Gold fell from 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 101 $\frac{1}{4}$, a movement which facilitated bond importations. Bills on London advanced $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent to 4.84 and 4.86 $\frac{1}{2}$. The decline in gold was wholly on account of considerations of supply and demand, and the absence of any disposition to speculate on the future effects on gold of silver remonetization. The bullion value of the 412 $\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar at the close of the week was \$0.9106 gold, while the United States legal-tender note which will be paid with this dollar was \$0.9864.

The Grand Duke Nicholas, in command of the Russian army in Turkey, has at last officially announced that the treaty of peace has been concluded, and its terms are now as fully known as they will be known until the text reaches St. Petersburg by courier—that is to say, in about ten days hence. To what the length of the negotiations has been due it is hard to say, as the Turks had no choice but to sign whatever was drawn up for them; but it looks as if the delay and the occasional revelation of enormous Russian demands were a sort of experiment on European opinion, so that the final abatement in the terms should wear the look of concession and pacify England and Austria. Bulgaria is to be, as heretofore announced, a tributary principality, but it is not to include Adrianople or Salonica, and the prince is not to belong to any European reigning house. It is to have the port of Kavala on the Ægean, and Varna and Burgas. All the Turkish fortresses north of the Bal-

kans are to be razed and the troops withdrawn. Russia abandons her claim to the Egyptian and Bulgarian tribute, which probably was only made to be abandoned. The rest is much what was first announced. The troops are to go home by sea. It appears, also, by a solemn denial from Bismarck in the German Parliament, that the march to the defences of Constantinople was not stolen by means of delay in signing the armistice, but was provided for by the armistice itself. The question of the Dardanelles is reserved for future settlement.

The text of Prince Bismarck's speech on the Eastern complication, in reply to Herr von Benningsen's interpellation, has come out by the last mail, and is very interesting for the light it throws on the situation as the close of the war leaves it. He looks at it from first to last as it affects German interests, but gives his opinion somewhat freely as to its bearing on those of Austria and Russia. Turkey evidently no longer counts for anything in his eyes, and he begins by mentioning as the capital fact that Russia occupies Turkey from the Danube to the gates of Constantinople. The indemnity for the war, he says, is the affair of the belligerents. About the independence of Montenegro, Servia, and Rumania he does not care much. About the Dardanelles and the Danube, he will insist on freedom of navigation; he does not think that the passage of vessels of war has any more importance than the passage of merchant vessels, and believes that both will be settled, Russia consenting, in the spirit of the Treaty of Paris. He feels sure that Russia will see that her interest lies now in settling the Eastern Question so satisfactorily to England and Austria as to prevent all danger of a speedy renewal of trouble; and he maintains that, on the other hand, if Austria and England undertook to drive Russia out of Bulgaria, and succeeded, they would find themselves saddled with that very responsibility for the Christian population which Russia is now endeavoring to meet, and which they would have to meet on the line traced out by the Conference. He concludes, therefore, that nobody wishes to fight, and that there will be no fight, and believes there will be another, but this time successful, conference. As to Germany, anybody who supposes she is going to war to make herself the arbiter of Europe, Napoleonic fashion, or for any purpose except the protection of internal unity or in defence of interests so plain that in defending them the Government would be supported by the unanimous vote of the Federal Parliament and by the deep conviction and enthusiasm of the German nation, is greatly mistaken. He adds that Germany is in the best possible relations with Austria, England, and Russia, and, in fact, talks as if the world looked very bright and smiling in every direction.

In England something like calm has been restored, but everybody must by this time begin to feel somewhat foolish. The leaders of the Opposition, the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Forster, left the House in order to avoid voting for the £6,000,000, and, in fact, the Liberals have apparently laid down their arms, fearing that their further preaching of peace would increase the popular excitement and precipitate war. But the danger of war really disappeared after the first mad day, and the public finds consolation in the reflection that, though the Russians really command Constantinople, they have not entered it. There has, indeed, never been any reason to suppose that Russia meant to touch any of the "interests" which Lord Derby defined, at the beginning of hostilities, as British. Moreover the situation is greatly complicated by the all but certainty that Turkey has gone into alliance with Russia, and cares nothing for England any more, so that it would be impossible now, if war was entered on, to say what it was for or when it would end. The £6,000,000 has been all spent, and military preparations continue with unabated vigor, and the House has voted 135,452 men for the army for the coming year, which Mr. Hardy called a peace footing. About 35,000 men, ready for foreign service, are shortly to be assembled in camp, which must, as a threat, amuse the Russian staff.

THE INCOME-TAX AND THE SILVER AGITATORS.

A PETITION against the bill, now before the House, reviving the income-tax has been numerously signed in this city, and in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston. It sets forth, as the leading objections to the tax, that it is impolitic, as a tax on industry and thrift; that it is unjust, as a tax on the industry and savings of the individual, which does not, like other taxes, diffuse itself through the community by entering into prices under the laws of trade; that it cannot be collected fairly because its apportionment has to be left largely to the conscience of the taxpayer, so that the unscrupulous escape it and the honest bear the burden; that when first imposed it was only collected from 275,000 persons, and when the exemption was raised to \$2,000, it was only collected from 115,000 in a population of 40,000,000; that, finally, it is, in the opinion of eminent lawyers, unconstitutional, under Art. I., Sec. 9, which provides, as a protection against the fiscal oppression of one portion of the Union at the expense of another, that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration heretofore directed to be taken." It will, therefore, be resisted, and most likely with success, before the Supreme Court. We confess we rely on this appeal to the courts to defeat it rather than on this or any other petition to the present Congress. The arguments of the petition are unanswerable, and they are the kind of arguments against a tax which ought to have most weight with a civilized legislature, for the sole object of a civilized legislature in levying any tax ought to be the raising of the needful amount of revenue with the least possible amount of vexation or inconvenience to taxpayers of all classes and conditions, and the most equitable possible distribution of the burden among taxpayers of all classes and conditions. Into nothing is it less proper to allow passion or prejudice of any kind to enter than into the levying of taxes; in no way can the seeds of ineradicable social hates and dissensions be so readily sown as by making taxation the expression of hostility of any kind, or by imposing it in the interest of any class or section of the community. The legislator levying a tax ought, in fact, to sympathize with the feelings of every honest man, whether rich or poor, who is to be called upon to pay it.

But there has since 1860 been a good deal of departure from these sound rules. The tariff which was imposed after the war broke out, however good the intentions of its framers may have been, very speedily began to be administered in a spirit of hostility to all persons engaged in foreign trade, and was finally successful in bringing foreign trade into a kind of disrepute and presenting foreign importers to the public as presumptive smugglers and enemies of the Government. The moiety legislation and the appearance on the scene of detectives like Jayne with his handcuffs were the natural result of the growth of this policy, and a decided approximation to the taxing system of Oriental monarchies, in which the taxpayer is treated as the prey of the collector, to be hunted down and, when caught, tortured if necessary. The United States Custom-house ought, in the proper order of political development, to be that in which the greatest care is taken to shield the honest taxpayer from inconvenience. For some years after the war, however, it stood in this respect in the rear rank among those of other civilized nations.

With the rage for city and town improvements, and the consequent great increase of local taxation, which followed closely on the war, there arose that eagerness to throw the weight of municipal burdens on the rich or well-to-do, and that vexatious spirit in trying to gratify it which is still at this moment perhaps the most formidable fact in the problem of municipal government. There is hardly a city in the country, and particularly at the East, in which the taxing and assessing power is not lodged in the hands of men possessing but little property themselves and representing those who possess none; and they have done a good deal to erect the owners of houses and lots, and especially the owners of large lots, into a class possessing interests separate from those of the community, who ought to be made to bear not a fair share of the public

burdens, but as large a share as possible, and be well vexed in the process. Everything lawful is therefore done to harass them and make the possession of visible property seem onerous and shameful. The system has reached its climax in Boston, where the houses of rich men have been watched by detectives so as to catch them as residents on the first of May, the assessing day, and thus abridge their right of escaping heavy taxation by having a domicile elsewhere, and produce the impression among poor and ignorant voters that it is the rich who ought to contribute mainly to the city expenses, and that they were knavish in trying to get away. In other cases, again, assessors have sought to give expression to the popular dislike of large places within city limits by high valuations even of land not offered for sale, or for which there may be no sale, but which *might* be cut into small lots, as if there was something criminal or anti-social in the luxury of having a large garden round one's house, or as if it was proper to carry out in administration views of public policy which have not been expressed in legislation. But municipal government ought to be so administered as to attract wealth and not to repel it, and ease in escaping municipal taxation by residence elsewhere ought to be encouraged as the very best check on the excesses and extravagance of the class who now administer municipal affairs. In this way cities would begin to compete for population and capital, not simply in boulevards and asphalt pavements, but in low taxation and administrative courtesy and efficiency.

Last of all, the present silver agitation has produced among the farmers and laborers of a large portion of the country hostile feelings towards bankers, merchants, and all that class of persons who do the business of exchange, and this has more than anything else caused the attempt to revive the income-tax. That is to say, it is not really offered as a good way of raising a certain amount of revenue, but as a good way of harassing an obnoxious class residing mainly in a particular region, and therefore has something of the character of a bill of pains and penalties. The arguments used against it in the petition have, therefore, the fatal defect of pointing out as an objection to the bill the probability that it will produce the very results at which its promoters are aiming. They seek to punish the "gold-bugs" and the Money Power for opposing the re-monetization of silver and for expecting interest on their loans, and, if the bill does this, will not be troubled by its discouraging thrift, or its working injustice in the sense in which the petitioners use the term, or by the impossibility of its fair collection. It is in giving strength and even fierceness to this class-hatred that the silver agitation has done most mischief. The Silver Bill can be repealed, or its evils neutralized, but the delusions which have been propagated in advocating it will remain and furnish the soil in which many other legislative follies may grow. In fact, the probabilities at this moment seem to be that the propriety of giving accumulations of capital proper legal protection, or of not discouraging them by hostile legislation and unequal taxation, will be the next party question in our politics. A more unfortunate one could hardly come up in a democratic country, for it is one which more than any other infuses bitterness into party strife.

The notion that bankers and merchants and manufacturers have interests apart from those of the rest of the community, or get more advantage out of a stable standard of value than a workingman, is, of course, a deplorable hallucination, and the silver agitators who have spread it are either knavish or demented. The real "Wall-Street speculators," against whom the West is so much roused, will probably make more out of a fluctuating standard than any other class of men; but they are only a very small proportion of the moneyed class. This, as a whole, is created by and thrives on the general prosperity, and is necessary to the general prosperity, and lives and has to live by honest courses. That the machinery of credit and exchange can in any country be successfully managed by rogues and gamblers is a ludicrous mistake. Nearly every speech and article produced in support of the Silver Bill has, indeed, been largely made up of denunciations of the very class on whose skill, judgment,

and integrity the prosperity of the community depends, and to whose boldness the material progress of the United States has been due. If these ravings should result in a permanent condition of popular feeling calculated to make capital timid, and substitute hoarding or foreign loans for investment at home, it would not only check the growth of the country but change greatly for the worse the character of American society. To discourage hatreds and jealousies, and get rid of the delusion that a man can remain rich among us without employing his wealth in useful production, ought to be the first object with every one who has any influence with the masses. We wish there was some way of punishing those—wretches is the proper name for them—who, during the past year, have been poisoning their minds with the dregs of European Communism as a means of attacking the national credit.

THE WAR POWER OF ENGLAND.

THE history of the war crisis in England, even in the incoherent shape in which it reaches us through the mails and the telegraph, is an exceedingly interesting study in English politics. Nothing could well be worse than the blunders of the Ministry, except the blunders of the Opposition, and yet both have the same source, and that source is the desire of the country to hold her old influence in Continental politics without adopting Continental methods of creating and retaining influence. That is to say, the great reason, and in fact the controlling one, for not going to war with Russia is the want of an army, and this same reason has, since 1848, caused a steady decline in the weight of Great Britain in European politics. The Crimean war was measurably successful—that is, it brought Russia to her knees and postponed the overthrow of the Turks for twenty years—but it also dissipated completely the prestige of Waterloo, and revealed the inability of wooden fleets to hold their own any longer against shore batteries armed with modern artillery. Not only did it bring to light the defects of England's military organization, but it proved that she could not readily, with the volunteer system, raise a second army, small as the first was. The recruits which were sent out to fill the ranks in 1854-5 were notoriously so young and "weedy" that nobody thought with either pride or comfort of the force which would have attempted to carry on the war if the peace negotiations had not been successful. Luckily, Russia had been exhausted in an attempt to defend without railroads a point on a remote frontier, so that the Allies were able to go home with the air of victors, and having substantially accomplished their object; but the result was none the less injurious to English influence. France bore away most of the honors of the fray, and in England the first feeling of pride at English valor, as displayed in the war, was succeeded by a humiliating sense of having been "sold" by the French Emperor.

The full extent of England's incapacity to maintain her place in Continental councils was not, however, made plain until 1866, when the success of the Prussian military system astonished the world and caused what may be called the impressment of all able-bodied men on the Continent for military service. The semi-consciousness of this in English military circles caused that outbreak of hostility to Prussia which was nearly as striking during the Franco-Prussian war as the present hostility to Russia, and led to the sort of mild panic which followed the publication of the 'Battle of Dorking.' In fact, the alternative was then plainly presented and fully recognized that she must either confine herself to a rôle like that of Holland—the rôle of a peaceful trader—able, it is true, to defend vigorously all she has got, but not anxious for anything more, or else raise a standing army adequate to her pretensions by the conscription; a measure which, even if submitted to by the people, would involve very radical social and political changes, and might, indeed, change greatly the distribution of power. It is the unwillingness either to abate these pretensions or raise the army which led to such humiliating situations as that which preceded the Treaty of London and followed the refusal of Russia to abide by the restrictions of the Treaty of Paris on her naval force in the Black Sea, and that through

which Great Britain is now passing. The resource of subsidizing Continental allies, which was freely resorted to in the last French war, is no longer open. Continental powers are not so willing to be paid for fighting, and in the present condition of English opinion no Ministry would dare to resort to it. Moreover, the improvement in the condition of the laboring class, valuable as it is in other ways, has rendered recruiting exceedingly difficult, in spite of all that has been done to make the soldier's life attractive as regards pay, quarters, and discipline. Ireland, too, was during the Napoleonic wars a great nursery of recruits. The population was large and increasing, and the peasantry were very poor, ignorant, and light-hearted, and untroubled by the political cares and ambitions which they have since the Catholic Emancipation taken on themselves. The army which exists is highly equipped and well officered, but even the showy account given of it by Sir Garnet Wolseley in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century* only produces 40,000 men ready for active foreign service; and of his total of 400,000, 180,000 are volunteers—that is, armed shopkeepers, lawyers, and doctors who occasionally parade. The proposal to draw on the Indian army for a European contest of serious proportions is one which can hardly be entertained in England, and which would not be considered as worthy of attention in India, though India would doubtless furnish a fine recruiting ground for an army to be used against Russia two or three years hence. But in our time armies which have still to be raised do not count, and, indeed, it may be said neither do armies which are not ready to march. The Germans keep even their wagons packed in time of profound peace. No army counts for one of our great wars of to-day which cannot spare 25,000 to 30,000 to be killed and wounded and missing for the first engagement; or, in other words, the total force with which Great Britain is threatening Russia.

The great danger of this state of things to England—and the increased sobriety of the ministers within the last week or two seems to indicate that they appreciate it—is that the irritation produced by the continued and growing disregard of her threats on the Continent may some fine day plunge her into a war, under the influence of intense popular excitement, in which she would undergo tremendous loss and humiliation before she recovered her senses. There has in the present case been a narrow escape from this. The false rumor that the Russians had occupied Constantinople threw London for a whole day into a state of frenzy, disorganized the Opposition in the House of Commons, and caused the prompt despatch of the fleet to the Sea of Marmora. It is now, however, acknowledged on all hands that had it not been for Russian moderation and timidity the result might have been in the highest degree disastrous; for, had the Russians been bent on fighting, and continued their advance on Gallipoli, and occupied the Turkish forts, the fleet would have been caught in a trap.

What is worse than all is that the political influence which is lost, and which might be called well lost, through the reluctance of the country to encounter the perils and burdens of a large standing army, is not replaced by moral influence. Friendship with foreign states and races is either not cultivated by the Government and the press or not cultivated opportunely—that is, not until it has through some turn in the wheel of fortune become valueless. Nearly every state or race in the world which has ever been in difficulties of any kind during the last fifty years has had reason to accuse England either of treachery or hostility. Her cordial sympathy appears to be reserved for the victors in bloody struggles. In the present imbroglio the shocking massacres in Bulgaria were when the news reached England made a joke of by the Prime Minister, and the Ambassador at Constantinople made the atrocious statement in a published despatch that the Turkish habit of massacring 20,000 or 30,000 persons at a time was of no consequence if the maintenance of their rule was necessary to the protection of "British interests." Through the whole contest, too, both the Government and its organs in the press pursued a course of nagging hostility to all the races engaged in the crusade against the Turks. Russians, Rumanians, Servians, Montenegrins, and Bulgarians were all reviled and ridi-

ended with unswerving persistence and impartiality. They have succeeded, and now look on England as an enemy and Russia as a deliverer, and Southeastern Europe is in their hands, and they are entering, we have no doubt, on a great career of prosperity. Unfortunately, too, that horror of bloodshed which shows itself so strongly in British opinion about other people's wars vanishes, when "British interests" are in the smallest degree imperilled, with a rapidity which fills the world with mingled amusement and disgust. The English press has at one time or another during the last eighteen years been filled with lamentations over the sanguinary propensities of Americans, Germans, and Italians, and Russians, Servians, and Montenegrins, and lamentations apparently so sincere that many people were ready to believe that the British public had come to the conclusion that war was too horrid a thing to be undertaken for anything but national existence. There is something more than surprise, therefore, when they hear that if the Russians enter Constantinople there is not a man in England who would not wade knee-deep in blood in order to drive them out, and perceive that along with immense warlike fervor there exists at this moment no agreement as to the objects of war with Russia; so that it seems sometimes to the spectators as if the most peaceable, long-suffering, and humane people in the world were going to fight the Czar in order to let him know they did not like or trust him, and did not care a snap for him.

AFTER ONE YEAR OF PRESIDENT HAYES.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1878.

THE passage of the Silver Bill over the veto had so long been felt to be certain that when it occurred it can hardly be said to have had much financial interest. That the majority was so large and the action on the veto so prompt was undoubtedly due in part to the feeling of many of those, in both houses, who were secretly or openly opposed to the bill, that it was not the worst thing that could happen us, and that it was good policy, since its passage was sure, to make it also rapid before the friends of the measure had time to find out to what a small extent it would serve their purpose. It is now acknowledged even by its more rabid advocates that it will not bring immediate prosperity, which will be sad news to the Western debtor, inasmuch as without the free coinage and more mints the supply of silver coin cannot be greatly increased for two years. Moreover there is, as after the passage of the Resumption Act in 1875, considerable uncertainty on both sides as to its effects. There is an absurdity which every one can see in all emotional finance, and if it were left to the emotional financiers to draught and pass their bills they would meet with but little success. But in Congress they usually succeed in frightening the rational men into compromising with them and taking charge of their schemes, and putting provisions into them that will render them harmless. The compromise effected, each party is too much afraid that the other will back out to be willing to submit to any further delay, and the thing, whatever it be, is pushed through so as to "get it out of the way" and enable the legislators to get ready for the fall election. By and by an "indignant, outraged, and deceived people" discovers the folly or humbug of the affair; but the people is soon occupied with something else and forgets it or smiles over it. There must have been some funny finance when the Barbarians first began to take charge of the Roman Empire, but whether since that time there has been anything in Christendom that can quite equal the way in which some of our Congressmen deal with the delicate problems of trade and taxation, is doubtful. It is difficult as yet to say how the Western supporters of the silver movement will receive the bill when they discover its real nature, but it would be characteristic as well as amusing if they accused the present Congress also of having entered into a conspiracy with "the gold bugs."

In truth, the most interesting thing in the passage of the bill over the veto was the illustration it afforded of the contempt of the majority for the President. Courtesy as well as usage required if not the reference of the message to a committee, at least enough delay to enable the members to read it for themselves and give its contents, at all events, slight consideration. But there was no more respect paid to it than the rules required, and as much scorn heaped on it as they permitted. The performance, too, expressed pretty fairly—as far as I can see or learn—the feeling of the political world here. The President not only has no party, but not even individual supporters. His best friends are mere apologists—and they apologize faintly and coldly. The message was a good one,

and stated clearly and strongly not all the objections to the bill, but the principal ones, and the ones most likely to be effective with the thoughtful and intelligent portion of the American people. Yet very few are disposed to concede to it more than the credit of consistency. Most people say that he had to stick to the position of his inaugural. Firmness in holding ground he has once taken few deny him, but there is general complaint that he is greatly wanting in decision, and wavers much and long before taking up any ground at all. The stories one hears in illustration of this are numerous, and there is something melancholy—though to a person of a philosophic turn it has its comic side—in seeing the calm with which they are repeated to you by many who, during the canvass of last year, were vociferous in their guarantees that if there was one thing more than another for which Rutherford B. Hayes was distinguished, it was the clearness of his mind on all great topics, and the rapidity with which he laid out his course with regard to anything he had on hand. There are many reasons for believing, however, that this indecision is often more apparent than real; that is, that he sometimes affects not to have made up his mind long after he has done so, in the belief, as well as one can make out, that in the interval by some course of persuasion or cajolement he will be able to win over or pacify the opponents of what he has resolved on. The result is apt to be, however, that when his final determination is announced, they are able to quote a great many things he has said to them of an obscure or ambiguous character to support the charge of having imposed upon them, or, to use their own favorite phrase, of having "lied to them." The effect of this—whatever construction one may put on it—in diminishing his moral authority one does not need to point out. I might cite many illustrations of it, but one will suffice. I believe there is no doubt that the removal of Simmons was resolved on finally at least a month ago, and yet he was allowed to leave his post and come here to "work" for reappointment for two or three weeks, and lead the whole country to suppose that he was fighting a doubtful battle in the old fashion, with "headquarters" and "lieutenants" and "backers," and to be "weakening" or "gaining strength" from day to day, to the great scandal and discouragement, of course, not only of civil-service reformers, but of the civil service itself.

I have endeavored, and I think with success, to get to the bottom of the great mystery of the present Administration, and that is, the cause of what civil-service reformers consider the total, or all but total, disregard of the principles of civil-service reform by the President in his appointments, and his failure, though the first year of his administration is gone, to produce any systematic plan of reform. The explanation, like that of the Columbus egg-problem, is so simple that I am afraid the discovery will not bring me the credit I really deserve. It is that by civil-service reform he meant simply the exclusion of Congressmen from all share in the patronage, and not the imposition of any restrictions whatever on himself, the appointing power. The best form (for him) in which I have heard the case stated is that he looks on this exclusion, not as the whole of civil-service reform, but as the first or principal step in it; but I incline to think that he really has honestly, from the beginning, believed that that was all the civil-service reform he was required to carry out, and that it would furnish work enough for his term. Of course it is surprising that, even from this point of view, he should not have perceived the necessity, in order to make the exclusion of Congressmen permanent and win popular support for it, of making his exclusive use of the patronage respectable and thoroughly defensible. He evidently has not done so, however, and his failure to do so must be accepted as a sign of mental limitations for which his supporters were not prepared. But this, like other shortcomings, I cannot help ascribing, in part at least, as you have more than once done in your columns, to the defective if not dishonest character of the Presidential canvass, in which nothing was done to enlighten him or the people on what were really to be the great questions of his term of office.

As regards the condition and prospects of reform at Washington, they are easily described. Mr. Hayes has effected a real work of purification—that is, if he has not "disestablished the machine," he has made it decent. The oil is of better quality, and has no offensive odor. The frequenters of the White House are reputable and respectable, and there is no "mind-poisoning" going on in it. No notorious cheat, or knave, or jobber expects to get any shelter or support there against pursuit from the outside. The President, too, is ready to discuss and be persuaded, and even listen to vigorous remonstrance, and he is in sufficiently close relation with the intellectual currents of his time to be open to new ideas, and be capable of revising his own position. I am led to believe that he sees some of his mistakes, and that in-

deed a good deal of light has made its way into his brain since his election. I doubt, for instance, whether, if it were to do over again, so many "visiting statesmen" would have received high office, and whether all connection with Wells and Anderson would not have been repudiated from the first hour. But when one has said this, one has said all or nearly all that one can say on this side. There are only three departments at Washington in which reform is a practical and pressing question—the Treasury, the Post-Office, and the Interior. In the Treasury the matter has until now received no attention whatever. Secretary Sherman is neither opposed to it nor in favor of it; he simply cares nothing about it. It is to him a question of "lunar politics." The Postmaster-General, I understand, approves of it, and would like to see it triumph, which does not prevent Mr. Tyner, his Assistant, a "henchman" of the late Senator Morton, from conducting the department on the old plan and expressing openly his contempt for the proposed change. In the Interior the reform is strictly carried out, amidst greater obstacles than would be encountered anywhere else. Appointments are made through competitive selection; promotions are made for merit; investigations are conducted with the view of finding things out, and Congressmen have ceased to interfere, and Indian agents begin to find their life a sad one and their reward small. But then this is done under great difficulties—in the teeth of the fierce hostility of Congressmen, and of assaults of all kinds on the Secretary, set on foot by persons whom his "theorizing" is in one way or another likely to injure, the variety and malignity of which would be very amusing if I had space to illustrate them. One favorite device, the announcement of his approaching resignation, which was doubtless intended to dishearten and alarm the new agents, has not been resorted to for many weeks, and has probably been given up. Now, the curious thing in all this is that the indifference of the Treasury, the open recalcitrancy of the Post-office, and the zeal of the Interior, all receive the same tolerance and support from the President. He stands by Schurz, and also by Sherman and Tyner, with Roman firmness and Christian equanimity, and while making some appointments on the new plan makes plenty also on the old one, and is all the while as happy, from what I hear, as Parson Konak of Berlin, who maintains that the earth is flat as a pancake, and smiles at the astronomers. The explanations of this philosophy which one hears at Washington are, of course, various and contradictory. Many of his friends and supporters set it down in a shamefaced way to simple stupidity; his enemies, on the other hand, ascribe it to inherent wickedness darkened by the consciousness of fraud. The truth is probably, as I have before hinted, simply that his mental range and grasp and strength of will were greatly overrated during the canvass, and that while he is not doing as well as his warmest supporters tried to believe he would do, he is doing as well as they had the smallest reason to expect. I heard rumors of (under the circumstances) an unpleasant kind, that he already begins "never to look at the papers" and "not to mind what the papers say," which, if true, is, and in a government like ours must be, the forerunner either of fresh mistakes or of unhappy persistence in old ones—a proposition which is true even if "the papers" are all that those who most despise them say they are. Does it not seem as if Washington was the seat of a sort of mental and moral malaria, which neither Christians nor philosophers can resist, and which reduces some of the best men to light-hearted forgetfulness of their most solemn vows and best intentions almost as soon as they arrive? Judging from what one hears and sees of the destruction of political character which goes on in it, one is almost surprised that Congressional legislation is as good as it is.

VIAN'S MONTESQUIEU.

PARIS, February 9.

MONTESQUIEU is perhaps the most serious figure of the French literature of the nineteenth century. Though he did sometimes "sacrifice to the Graces," to use the language of the time, and wrote the rapid 'Temple de Gnide,' he stands before history as the author of the 'Esprit des lois,' one of those books which defy time, and which will always be read by the political philosopher. A young lawyer, M. Louis Vian, has attempted to write the life of Montesquieu with the most minute exactness—not in the vague and apologetic style which has so long been the fashion, but with the precision to which Sainte-Beuve has accustomed the later generation. M. Laboulaye, who writes a short preface to the work of M. Vian, notices with reason that among the famous men of the eighteenth century Montesquieu is perhaps the least known. The *Eloges* of D'Alembert, Maupertuis, and others are too

academical. M. Vian began fifteen years ago to collect the editions of Montesquieu: from a mere bibliophile he became a historian. He has made real discoveries simply in turning over the pages of the various copies of the 'Esprit des lois,' and has detected in all the works of Montesquieu the hand of the censor, who was always curtailing and changing the works submitted to him.

Montesquieu was born in the manorial château of La Brède, not far from Bordeaux; his father was Jacques de Brède Secondat, Baron of Montesquieu; his mother was of English extraction. The Secondats had formerly belonged to the Huguenot court of the Queen of Navarre. The young Montesquieu was educated in the school of the Oratorians at Juilly, near Meaux, where he remained eleven years, till 1711. His family belonged to what was called the nobility of the Parlements; his two grandfathers had been presidents at the Parlement of Guyenne; his uncle was still president. He devoted himself naturally to the study of the law, which was then a difficult one, as it comprehended the Roman law, the canonical law, and the numerous *Coutumes* of the French provinces. He pursued his law studies at Bordeaux, and was named at the age of twenty-five Counsellor of the Parlement of Bordeaux. One year afterwards he was married to a Protestant young lady, Jeanne Lartigue; and the marriage presented some difficulties, as the young bride was a zealous Calvinist, and refused to change her religion. At that time the Protestants had ceased to have any civil rights. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes it was forbidden to open a Protestant chapel. Protestants, and even Catholics who were married before a Protestant minister, were not legally married. Montesquieu and his bride could have no Protestant service; they were married in the Catholic church of St. Michel in Bordeaux, and the priest was supposed not to know that the bride was a Calvinist. Nobody was invited to the ceremony, and Montesquieu's relations were absent. It has always been supposed that Montesquieu married Jeanne Lartigue because she had a large dower, as she was plain, a little lame, and he did not respect the ties of matrimony any more than most of his contemporaries.

At the death of his uncle, Montesquieu became in his place president *à mortier* of the Parlement of Guyenne, an office which could at that time, like so many others, be left by inheritance. (The *mortier* was a cap of black velvet with a gilt band.) He was well prepared for his difficult functions: the Parlement of Bordeaux followed the Roman law in many matters, but had also to give application to no less than ten provincial *Coutumes*. At the age of thirty he published the famous 'Lettres Persanes.' The book appeared, without any author's name, at Paris under the false designation of Cologne, in 1721; its success was immense. The Regency was beginning, and the tone of the 'Lettres Persanes' suited a society which was tired of the severity of the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV. The frivolity of the form masked what might have alarmed the clergy and even the Government. Montesquieu himself always spoke lightly of this work, which he called a "péché de jeunesse." The clergy objected, however, to some parts: the Persians of Montesquieu spoke of the world as eternal; they did not believe that the foresight of God could be combined with the liberty of man. Cardinal Dubois thought it necessary to interdict a work which offended monarchy and religion.

Montesquieu had become a "lion"; he made the acquaintance at the Hôtel Souffise of all the men of letters; he became a member of the "Club de l'Entresol," founded by Lord Bolingbroke, with the philanthropic Abbé de St. Pierre, with D'Argenson and others. He wrote at that time the 'Dialogue of Sylla and Euerates,' a splendid page of rhetoric, which is a sort of preface to the 'Considerations on the Rise and Fall of the Romans.' He wrote also the erotic 'Temple de Gnide' for Mademoiselle de Clermont, a sister of the Duke of Bourbon. Montesquieu long disavowed this work, which was at the time attributed to Fontenelle and to the President Hénault. It is, however, certain that the popularity which the 'Temple de Gnide' gave to Montesquieu in the corrupt society of the time assisted him not a little to be named a member of the French Academy. His election, however, was annulled, as the statutes of the Academy required every member to live in Paris, and Montesquieu was obliged to reside chiefly in Bordeaux. (These statutes have not been changed, though many members of the Academy to-day live chiefly in the provinces; it is enough if they appear from time to time at the Institute.)

Montesquieu was tired of the obscure honors of Bordeaux; he sold his place as soon as he could, and fixed himself in Paris. He was re-elected to the French Academy, chiefly by the influence of the Marchioness of Lambert, who kept at the time the keys of the Immortals' *conaculum*. The election was a real battle, as the clergy made great efforts against the author of the 'Lettres Persanes.' Cardinal Fleury wished to read

the famous 'Lettres,' and in a few days a copy was prepared in which the "dangerous" passages had been suppressed. This fraud was accomplished by the introduction of new pages, which our printers call *cartons*. Montesquieu was already preparing the 'Esprit des Loix,' and, in order to enlarge his horizon, he undertook long journeys in Germany, in Hungary, in Italy, in Holland, and in England. It is a great pity that he did not publish the diary of his travels. He left Paris in company with Lord Waldegrave, who was going as Ambassador to Vienna. In Italy he joined Lord Chesterfield. It was in Rome that Montesquieu formed the project of his 'Considerations on the Rise and Fall of the Romans.' He remained eighteen months in England, in company with Chesterfield, with Lord Bolingbroke, with Walpole; he sums up his observations on his travels in short sentences: "When I am in France, I am friendly with everybody; in England, with nobody; in Italy, I make compliments to everybody; in Germany, I drink with everybody." On his return to France, he went to his Château de la Brède, made an English park, entailed his property, and asked that it should be named a marquise. He published the 'Considerations' first at Amsterdam, afterwards in Paris. This book met with little success, and the "beaux-esprits" of Paris said that the 'Lettres Persanes' had been the "rise," and that the 'Considerations' were the "fall" of Montesquieu.

When he went to Paris, Montesquieu lived habitually at the Duchesse d'Aiguillon's. She gave a *souper* every Saturday; she was, in the words of Gustave III., the living journal of the court, of the town, of the provinces, of the Academy. Voltaire was one of her correspondents. "Madame d'Aiguillon," says Madame du Deffand, "has a mouth drawn in (*enfonce*), her nose is not very straight, her eye is mad and audacious, and nevertheless she is handsome. Her beautiful complexion has the best of the irregularity of her features. Her waist is coarse; her arms are enormous. Strength takes the place of lightness." Montesquieu was fond of society, but he said: "I prefer the houses where I can get along with my every-day *esprit*." He knew Madame du Deffand, Madame Geoffrin, Madame de Rochefort, but he was not one of their *intimes*.

Montesquieu did not write with his own hand in the latter part of his life, as his eyes had become weak. He dictated the 'Esprit des lois' to his secretaries. This great work was composed in the library of the Château de la Brède, an immense room which can still be seen; it is on the first floor of the château, and is as much as seventeen metres long and eleven broad. On the doors are devices; one—

"Au magistrat rends humble obéissance;
Il a de Dieu ces honneur et puissance."

On the other, one reads—

"Ton Dieu surtout aime d'amour extrême,
Et ton prochain comme toi-même."

The books are still in the wooden bookcases, and many of them have old paper-marks between their leaves. The catalogue of this library has been published by M. Gustave Brunet; it is chiefly composed of classics, and comprises the most important works of Greek and Roman antiquity.

Montesquieu had given the printing of the 'Lettres Persanes' and of the 'Considerations' to Holland. He chose Switzerland for his 'Esprit des lois'; the book appeared in Geneva, in two volumes in 4to. It had for its epigraph "Prolem sine matre creatam," and, in fact, it can hardly be compared to any work published before it. Montesquieu studies in it, in a scientific spirit, the philosophy of government. I will not attempt to analyze it. Every man of culture knows Montesquieu's definitions of the various forms of government, his classification of the great forces which control and govern humanity. The French censorship did not allow the publication of Montesquieu without some changes. M. Vian gives us the text of the *cartons* which embody the exactions of the controllers of French public opinion. It is almost painful to read them, and to imagine that men have held office with the special mission of veiling the truth by a few words and epithets. It was thought seriously that grammar might be a barrier to the revolutionary spirit which was already pervading France. The revolutionists of '93 did not derive their inspiration from Montesquieu. The president of Bordeaux was not a leveller like Rousseau; he was more like an English Tory; he had no objection to representing "abuses" himself, though he understood the necessities of the time and had a progressive mind. His great book, notwithstanding the changes made in the *cartons*, was finally forbidden in France; but it was as much read and more than if the censors had allowed its sale.

Montesquieu did not write much after his great effort; he had completely lost his eyesight; he died in Paris, the 10th February, 1755, at the age of sixty-six years. His body had disappeared in 1793, and was probably thrown into the Catacombs.

Correspondence.

GODWIN'S 'CYCLOPEDIA OF BIOGRAPHY.'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A reader of the letter of Mr. Parke Godwin in the *Nation* of February 21, in reference to the 'Cyclopædia of Biography,' might (if unacquainted with the history of the work) easily obtain the impression, which we are confident Mr. Godwin could not have intended to convey, that the publishers were now "revamping," with inconsiderable additions, a work which had been practically superannuated and had been out of sale for some years, and that this re-issue was made without proper authority.

So far is this from being the case, that under the imprint of G. P. Putnam, Hurd & Houghton, and ourselves, the book has been kept in continuous sale from the date of its first publication to the present time, and it has never been published or known under any other name than 'Godwin's Cyclopædia.'

In adding the two supplements of 1865 and 1877, care was taken both on the title-pages and in the prefaces to make it clear that the original editor had no responsibility for the additional material, and we do not understand that, until this letter of last month, Mr. Godwin had ever claimed the right or expressed the wish to have the title of the work altered.

The two supplements appear to have been well executed, and to have brought no discredit upon the original work, as they have received the favorable notices of the best critics, and have enabled the book to hold its own against the competition of other works of the class. Some corrections have been made in the first portion of the book, but, as your literary editor has, with kind courtesy, taken pains to advise us in *two* successive numbers of your paper, some further errors still remain, which are now receiving our attention.

We have yet to find a work of reference in which the searching process of criticism could not bring to light a list of errors, and we would merely claim for the 'Cyclopædia of Biography,' in justice as well to Mr. Godwin as to its later editors, that, as well for accuracy as for general serviceability, it will compare favorably with both English and American works of its class; and we are content to leave to the public the decision as to its permanent value.—Yours truly,

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.

REPUDIATION MADE EASY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your last issue I notice a letter from a correspondent relative to municipal indebtedness in Missouri, and as I have recently received a circular from a regularly appointed official swindler upon the same business, I beg to enclose it herewith, and ask that you will make such use of it as will best serve the interests of honest men. I have already shown it to parties who have *heretofore* invested largely in Western securities. It is about as barefaced an invitation from the State to the cities and towns to cheat their creditors as one would care to see even in these times.

Respectfully yours,
BOSTON, March 2, 1878.

F. E. SEAVER.

[We subjoin the circular referred to by our correspondent, and a portion of the statute printed on the same sheet.—ED. NATION.]

OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNTY, CITY, AND MUNICIPAL AGENT
OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI,
JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., February 26, 1878.

The undersigned gives notice of his appointment as General County, City, and Municipal Agent of the State of Missouri.

The object of the law creating this office is to bring about an acquaintance and, if possible, a mutual understanding between defaulting or insolvent municipalities and their creditors, which will result in an adjustment of existing municipal debts upon a fair and honorable basis, and upon a plan which offers more security and better guarantees to the bondholder and a lighter burden to the debtor, and thus advantageous to both. Attention is called to our new Constitution and recent legislation, by which the issue of municipal bonds is restricted almost to prohibition, and compromise or renewal registered bonds are authorized, the principal and interest of which is collected by the State.

Full and authentic information in regard to any county, city, or township bond issued by any municipality within this State will be furnished upon application.

It is the desire of this department to put itself in personal and direct communication with every Missouri bondholder.

JAMES CRAIG,
General County, City, and Municipal Agent of Missouri.

EXTRACT CHAPTER 22, ARTICLE II., STATUTES OF MISSOURI.

SECTION 1. That with a view to enable negotiations to be conducted between the municipalities in this State, whether county, city, township or other municipality, which may be disposed to effect a compromise or composition of their bonded debts, principal and interest due or to become due, and the creditors or holders of bonds issued by or in behalf of such municipality, there shall be appointed by the governor a General County, City, and Municipal Agent, who shall hold his office for two years, and who shall be authorized to receive proposals from the authorized agents of the municipalities, in regard to the terms upon which said municipalities will settle, and to ascertain from the holders of said bonds, so far as they are known, upon what terms they are willing to accept new bonds, upon what rate of interest, and what times of payment, subject to the conditions hereinafter specified.

SECTION 4. The General County, City, and Municipal Agent shall, as his compensation, be entitled to a percentage on the amount of debts thus compromised, as shall be previously agreed upon, not to exceed one-tenth of one per cent., to be paid by the county, city, or other municipality in whose favor such composition is effected.

SECTION 9. It shall be the duty of the General County, City, and Municipal Agent appointed under this act to ascertain, as far as practicable, the holders of the bonds referred to in this act by correspondence and by publication in one or more newspapers.

AN OBJECTION TO BI-METALLISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is one objection to the theory of bi-metallism which deserves more attention than it has attracted, and which is, I believe, entirely ignored by Cernuschi. This objection is that the functions of gold and silver as mediums of exchange are not only not identical, but the tendency of civilization is to differentiate them more and more.

Gold, as a medium of exchange, is most useful in large payments; silver in small payments. Somewhere below ten dollars there is a neutral ground where either metal may be used with equal convenience; but, except on this neutral ground, convenience dictates that the uses of the two metals be kept distinct. Whatever may be the limits of this neutral ground, it is only necessary to note that, outside of it, the separation of the functions of gold and silver coins is as natural as is the demand for the precious metals for money.

Bi-metallism claims that it can fix by law the ratio at which gold and silver coin shall circulate together; but bi-metallism must do something more than this—it must make it possible for gold and silver coins to be used interchangeably in performance of the same function as a medium of exchange; or, to put the case as it would probably happen in the United States, bi-metallism must make silver take the place of gold to some extent, and perhaps to a great extent, in transactions above ten dollars. For if by any supposable cause the volume of silver, under a bi-metallic system, should be permanently and greatly increased—say trebled—one of two things must take place: either the purchasing power of silver must be permanently and greatly lowered (in the supposed case perhaps two-thirds) and destroy the legal ratio, or else silver must be used in common with gold in large payments.

According to my thinking, money is simply a machine for measuring and distributing wealth. In the building of the money-machine, as in the building of any machine, experience teaches mankind what metals are best suited for its purpose, and also what function each metal can best serve. We see in India a money-machine made principally of silver, and in certain parts of Africa the money-machine is made of gold-dust; but the inconveniences of the Indian and African machines are so apparent that civilization has long since rejected them. Nor do I believe that civilization will rest content with any money-machine wherein the convenience of those who use it is ignored. The greater convenience to buyer and seller of twenty dollars in gold to twenty dollars in silver, in a twenty-dollar payment, needs no illustration.

This question of separate functions, then, is only a question of convenience. But what is convenience? What principally gives the utility to gold and silver, and thus confers upon them their purchasing power? Only the fact that they are more convenient than any other commodities for money.

Bi-metallism may, in spite of all objections, succeed in holding the metals together at a fixed ratio, on the same principle (to appropriate Prof. Walker's happy simile) that two horses, not perfectly mated, may be driven together. No sensible man, however, would dream of harnessing Dexter and a dray-horse to an omnibus, not only because of their

different gaits, but because, though both are horses, their uses or functions are absolutely distinct.

Favoring circumstances alone can make bi-metallism to any extent a success; there is nothing in the nature of things which gives a scientific basis to the theory.

Boston, February 16.

PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS IN EUROPE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Not very long since a communication in relation to the preservation of the Old South Church in Boston appeared in the *Nation*, in which it was incidentally stated that in Europe the preservation of old monuments is made an object of zealous governmental care. The number of the *Nation* in which this statement was made came to me at Spezia just after I had been pained at witnessing the process of destruction of the fine old monastery there—a place memorable as having been visited by Dante in his exile, and a conspicuously lovely feature of this lovely part of the Gulf of Genoa—that a fortress might be placed upon its site, and after hearing that the noble and historic old castle of Lario was soon to share a similar fate. I quickly recalled almost numberless instances which I had seen or heard of elsewhere in Italy (the placing of a huge military barrack on the site of the old castle of Theodorico at Verona, utterly destroying one of the noblest landscapes in Europe; the destruction and building up anew of the south porch of St. Mark's Church at Venice, and the proposal that its entire façade should be pulled down and a new one built to match the new porch; the removal of the great capital of the Adam and Eve angle of the Ducal Palace—one of the most wonderful carved stones in the world—to be replaced by a new one of modern mechanical manufacture, among them), and I thought how little like preservation or respect for old monuments all this was. But recently I have been more than ever pained and astonished to see what is now taking place with the Duomo of Florence. Some weeks ago I observed that heavy scaffolding was going up against one of the walls of the south transept, but I supposed it was for the purpose of effecting some necessary repairs, though I could see nothing out of order. I have since learned, however, that it is being used for the purpose of carrying on one of the most destructive and foolish processes of so-called restoration—that, namely, of scouring off, with strong acids, all the old weather-stain, the golden color of ages; of picking out and replacing with new all cracked or broken fragments of mosaic; and of tooling over the old sculpture.

Upon mounting this scaffold I was astonished to see, not only the destructive character of the work, so far as the supposed restoration of the sculpture is concerned, but the extreme carelessness, as regards the old work, with which it is done. I found the delicate capitals of the window-shafts entirely unprotected, and freshly broken, in many places, by chips which the workmen had let fall upon them from above. The exquisite gable crockets—originally most wonderful for subtle carving of undulating surface, and spring of curvature—were ruthlessly hacked over and spoiled. I have ascertained that the intention is to go completely over the cathedral in this manner, in order to make the old work look fresh and match the new façade now in progress.

It may be useless to dwell upon the deplorableness of these things, but it should not be supposed that European governments, when they permit them, really protect their monuments. I understand, in this case, that the commission who have the matter in charge are divided in their views about it, and that a minority have protested. Evidently few persons in Italy care anything for the beauty of their old art. Pulling down and rebuilding, scraping and scouring, are looked upon as indications of renewed thrift and respectability.

The destruction which has thus been carried on in Europe during the past few years, is incalculable, and if it is not soon stopped there will be little left. Already M. Viollet-le-Duc, one of the best so-called restorers, has extensively defaced, if not destroyed, nearly all the French cathedrals, and Sir Gilbert Scott and others have done the same with the cathedrals of England.—Truly yours,

CHARLES H. MOORE.

Florence, 10th Feb., 1878.

Notes.

GEO. ROUTLEDGE & SONS will shortly publish here 'Walks in London,' by A. J. C. Hare, which can hardly fail to be an important addition to the tourist's outfit.—Macmillan & Co. have nearly ready Laveleye's 'Primitive Property.'—'A Guide to American Literature' is

announced by E. Steiger.—Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, are about to bring out a new and cheap edition of Wilson and Bonaparte's 'American Ornithology,' three volumes in one, together with 103 new plates.—Dr. L. Sauveur's Normal School of Languages—a summer school for teachers—will hold its third session at Amherst, commencing Tuesday, July 9, of the present year, and continuing for six weeks. There will be sections in French, Spanish, Italian, German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanskrit. Arrangement for board at Amherst may be made through the Janitor of the College, Mr. L. Gates.—We are glad to learn that the Rev. Henry G. Spaulding's morning lectures on Roman antiquities, concluded last week in this city, are to be followed by six Monday evening lectures on "Roman Life and Art," beginning March 11, at Chickering Hall. They are genuine object-lessons, in which the stereopticon is constantly employed by way of illustration, the views being carefully selected and of a very striking character. Tickets for the course are obtainable at the bookstore of E. P. Dutton & Co.—Milmore's bust of Charles Sumner, presented by the State of Massachusetts to Mr. Geo. William Curtis in acknowledgment of his eulogy on the senator delivered before the State authorities, is now on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in Fourteenth Street.—A very full measure of information and illustration is given in the new and tasteful guide-book called 'Harvard and its Surroundings' (Cambridge: Charles W. Sever). The principal buildings pertaining to the University are shown in excellent heliotypes, while other objects of interest are suggestively rendered in etchings interspersed through the text. To an old graduate perhaps the most striking sign of the growth of the college is the number of costly dormitories lately erected outside the grounds by private capital.—We learn from the Chicago *Alliance* that it was "our advertising man" who was "led to believe that the infamous tea-firm of C. A. Long & Co. was responsible and had a respectable backing."

—The well-known and somewhat voluminous author Ebend.; his friend Ander Schiffahrt, the protégé of Mr. Henri Harisse; Thesaurus, whose works in 2 vols. folio have been recorded in several English booksellers' catalogues; and Mill, not the author of the 'System of Logic,' but the one whose book 'On the Floss' ladies sometimes ask for at public libraries, these (shall we say, pseudonymous authors) have now a companion. The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January notices a book by a Herr Domkapit. Secular bibliographers would have supposed the author to be a certain Domkapitular, or Cathedral Canon Petz; but on theological matters Andover is an authority. The interpretation put upon this title-page by the *Bibliotheca Sacra* recalls the catalogue of a certain New York library in which might be seen, some years ago, a Portuguese work credited to Por de R. Franquelo, the German memoir of Bunsen to S. Wittwe (in other libraries interpreted as "his widow"), and a still more remarkable entry of the 'Mecum Vade for malt worms,' as 'For malt worms. By Mecum Vade.'

—The *Fortnightly Review* for January contains an address on "Technical Education," delivered by Professor Huxley last December before the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Professor Huxley's advice has special reference, of course, to English conditions, but much of it has a universal application, and his *obiter dicta* are, as usual, eminently happy and suggestive. In brief, he holds that a boy whose prospect is to be bred to a handicraft should have a good English elementary education, and such a real knowledge of the rudiments of physical science, particularly physics and chemistry, as can be learned by the time the age of thirteen or fourteen is reached. In addition, he should be "able to read a scientific treatise in Latin, French, or German," and to draw with fair accuracy. The technical training should be begun not in the school but in the workshop. "The education which precedes that of the workshop should be entirely devoted to the strengthening of the body, the elevation of the moral faculties, and the cultivation of the intelligence; and especially to the imbuing of the mind with a broad and clear view of the laws of that natural world with the components of which the handicraftsman will have to deal." It should avoid being "carried so far as to encourage bookishness" or the "mischievous delusion that brainwork is, in itself, and apart from its quality, a nobler or more respectable thing than handiwork." Professor Huxley finds the elementary schools already established in England sufficient for this preliminary instruction, which leaves boys free to enter into working life and contribute to their own support as early as they do now. For supplementary training in science and art provision also exists, and has for eighteen years existed, "in the classes of the Science and Art Department, which are for the most part held in the evening." There is still one desideratum, to meet the cases of

exceptional talent or rare genius. "As the sum and crown of what is to be done for technical education, I look to the provision of a machinery for winnowing out the capacities and giving them scope." This might naturally fall to the lot of the powerful and wealthy livery companies of the City of London, "the heirs and representatives of the trade guilds of the Middle Ages"; and they are, in fact, considering the matter. Professor Huxley allows himself one political allusion. "A great deal is said of British interests just now, but depend upon it that no Eastern difficulty needs our intervention as a nation so seriously as the putting down both the Bashibazuks of ignorance and the Cossacks of sectarianism at home."

—In the February number of the *Nineteenth Century* there is a remarkable article on Mrs. Siddons as *Lady Macbeth*. It contains a series of extracts from the play, copiously marked and annotated with particulars of that actress's intonation, emphasis, action, and attitude, by Professor G. J. Bell, of Edinburgh, a contemporary lover of the stage, who about 1809 filled three volumes of an acting edition of plays with as many particulars of the acting of John Kemble and of his sister as could well be put on paper. Professor Bell was evidently a man of taste and well fitted for the task. How well worth doing his work was it is needless to say. Professor Fleeming Jenkin, to whom we owe the publication of these notes, draws attention to the real pain felt at the perishing of any beautiful thing, at the absolute loss of any great work of nature or art. Yet from its very essence an actor's work must perish, such memorials as these of Professor Bell's being unfortunately as rare as they are valuable. The example chosen for publication is excellent. *Lady Macbeth* was perhaps Mrs. Siddons's best part; and as far as it is possible to ascertain by comparison of criticism Mrs. Siddons was the greatest of all *Lady Macbeths*, before or since. We have no space to quote from these records, and can only remark further that the reading of them will tend to controvert the received opinion that Kemble was the mental superior of his sister and the more inventive intellect of the two. Professor Bell seems hardly to do justice to the brother, who we have been told devised "business" for his sister's benefit.

—The annual report of the Hospital Visiting Committee recently made to the State Charities Aid Association shows the usual continued improvement in the only department which is effectively divorced from politics—that of Trained Nursing—and the usual absence of it elsewhere. They call particular attention to the condition of the cells for the reception of insane and violent patients at Bellevue, describing them as "ill-ventilated, reeking with foul air, gloomy, and damp." In these cells, it seems, the drunken and insane, together with the paralyzed and incurable, are crowded for days. The doctors' visits are not made daily, and cases sometimes accumulate for nearly a week before any medical examination is made, and this although the city pays for the work. The description of the cells reads like an account of those in a madhouse in the last century. They are "so damp," the committee say, "that we have known of a case of malarial typhoid being engendered there"; while the male cells are conveniently placed directly under the female medical ward, so that "the shrieks of the imprisoned maniacs are continually terrifying the sick women above." The committee have something to say, too, about the responsibility for the management of institutions on Blackwell's and the other islands, a matter which they justly remark is shrouded in "much mystery." When an abuse or neglect of duty is discovered—as, for example, the absence of articles necessary to cleanliness, *e. g.*, soap, towels, combs, and brushes—the practice seems to be for the commissioners and everybody concerned to admit with the most engaging frankness that it is all wrong, and that somebody is to blame; but when an attempt is made to ascertain who the culprit is, we are plunged in Cimmerian darkness. The fact is, that the system of administration now in vogue is devised for that especial object. If you could find out who was to blame, there would be a speedy end to the system. In order to have responsibility, there should be one efficient commissioner, with a long tenure of office, and he should have absolute control over the appointment and removal of his subordinates. In fact, what is needed is exactly the system which has been recently introduced into the prisons of the State, and which has already been followed by such satisfactory results. The prisons and hospitals of the city are now "run" as a branch of Tammany Hall, and so long as this continues to be true, all we can hope for is the amelioration of necessary abuses by volunteer effort. One of the best illustrations of the way the machine works at present is given in what the committee say about the "ten-day women." The enlightened and humane policy of the commissioners has been until lately, and we suppose still is in most of the hospitals, to use these creatures sent up

to the island for drunkenness as nurses and "helpers," and this has led to a volunteer attempt to reform them which has been marked with success. Of course this is an excellent thing; but there is something very characteristic in a system which begins by selecting grossly unfit persons for a responsible position, their unfitness being afterwards ameliorated by a volunteer charitable organization which undertakes to "reform" them.

—The plan of putting up an armory in Washington Square, as made public, looks to the construction of a huge barrack extending from the centre of the park on the line of South Fifth Avenue to the easterly side. Such a building would split the square in two, make an ugly of a pretty quarter of the city, and pave the way for the future occupation of the whole space. There is no necessity for this, and, so far as we have observed, public opinion is unanimously against it. That an armory can be put up there for General Shaler at a less expense than elsewhere may be true, but this is also the case whenever a public building is required. Land can always be obtained more cheaply by taking the parks than by renting or purchasing, and if a bit of one park is to be taken, there is no reason why all the others should not be invaded as well; so that this attempt to seize Washington Square may, without exaggeration, be regarded as a menace to every similar place in the city. Apart from this general danger, there is every reason why the appropriation of this particular square should be vigorously protested against. The park is one of the oldest and prettiest in the city. With the picturesque University buildings on the east side, and to the north the old-fashioned, substantial dwelling-houses—not a modern row of "four-story, high-stoop, brown-stone fronts," but a quiet row of well-built houses, suggesting a life within of a different sort from that led by the MacGillivuddys and the Potipharis—removed from the roar and bustle of Broadway, it seems, what in fact it is, a quarter of an older and pleasanter town which luckily has escaped the ravages of contractors and street-openers, and survives to remind us that city life is not necessarily ugly and repulsive. Washington Square, too, is one of the few public parks in the older parts of the city in which rich and poor meet on common ground. The south side of the square and the streets near it are inhabited by people of the poorer class, who have looked upon the park for years as their children's playground, and on Sundays and public holidays in the spring and early summer it is pleasant to notice that the shade of the fine old trees and the cool breezes are not monopolized by the rich at the expense of the poor, nor by the poor to the exclusion of the rich, but are really democratically shared by both classes. For a democratic city it is singular how little this is the case in most of the old parks. They generally fall a prey to some distinct class, as with Tompkins Square, or else become mere thoroughfares, like Madison and Union Squares. But Washington Square has preserved this characteristic of a bygone time, and with its fountain, and its broad walks and shady seats, filled with merry children, nurses with their white caps, and here and there a group of enterprising householders spending the morning *al fresco* with their neighbors, it suggests faintly the pictures of life in New York handed down to us by our grandmothers, when the Bowling Green was in all its glory, and the Von Twillers and Stuyvesants used to take their afternoon stroll upon the Battery. The destruction of any old park is an evil; when it is avoidable it is an outrage. With regard to Washington Square, besides all the other considerations, there is serious reason to apprehend its effect on the public health; a large number of the most eminent physicians of this city have expressed their opinion that it will increase the death-rate. Since the days when the Central Park fell into the hands of the Ring no such scandalous interference with public rights has been attempted, and it will certainly be an alarming proof of the tameness of the public if they submit to it.

—The recent affray at Princeton has been much discussed in the newspapers as if it was simply a question of "hazing," but the remarkable part of the affair is the use of fire-arms in connection with undergraduate pranks. There is nothing very new or singular in a number of sophomores playing a trick on a freshman in order to get him into their power, or in a retaliation on the part of the freshmen; this has happened hundreds of times before, but we do not remember in college annals any instance of a regular shooting affray, with both sides armed to the teeth, and firing repeated volleys into each other at short range. The carrying of concealed weapons, as a general practice among college students, would, we fear, prove fatal to the "higher education," and a shooting affray of this sort seems to imply a pretty general familiarity with the use of fire-arms. The Princeton faculty have taken this view of the matter, and have sent off some seventeen of the culprits. We are glad

to see, too, that the occasion has been improved by a correspondent of the *Tribune*, who makes a suggestion of a novel character with regard to hazing, which the *Tribune* thinks worth at least calling attention to editorially. The influence that is best calculated, this correspondent says, to tame the brutal passions that now find a vent in hazing, and to direct the natural energy of sophomores into new and pleasing channels, is none other than that of flowers. It is difficult, he says, to overestimate the mollifying effect of flowers on the hard-hearted and cruel, and he cites the beautiful practice prevailing at one of our prominent bi-sexual institutions of learning, where the sophomores, instead of receiving the new class with injurious words and treatment, receive them with bouquets. He notices that at Harvard they have been planting out flowering shrubs lately in the college grounds, and thinks that this may have contributed materially to the decline of hazing there.

—Just ten years ago the Radical North was hopeful, the South was correspondingly fearful, that the impeachment of Andrew Johnson would end in making the President of the Senate, Benjamin F. Wade, President of the United States. Neither the hope nor the fear was fulfilled, and a year later Mr. Wade's political career terminated on his retirement from the Senate, in which for eighteen of the stormiest years in the history of the Republic he had been the very type of courage, steadfastness, indomitable energy, and incorruptibility. On Saturday last "the old Roman," as he was sometimes called—"the old wheel-horse," by another metaphor—died at his Ohio home after a characteristic struggle with the disease which finally overcame him. At a time when the North was represented in Congress chiefly by cowards and doughfaces, he entered the Senate as a Whig, but first and above all as a man; and a man he remained through all the perilous days of the Fugitive-Slave Law excitement, of the Kansas and Nebraska inquiry (which drove him into the ranks of the Republican party), and of the gathering storm that preceded the rebellion. He won the respect of Southerners who would gladly have seen him hung for his anti-slavery opinions, never concealed or disavowed, and when the civil war actually broke out he naturally took his place as chairman of the joint Congressional committee on the conduct of the war, where his services were real and invaluable. It is too soon to decide when he began to outlive his usefulness. Some may draw the line at his opposition to the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, in 1864, others at his opposition to Mr. Johnson and his share in the reconstruction measures of that difficult period. Enough to say that whenever the time for peace and reconciliation had arrived this "happy warrior's" day was over. He had neither the forgiving temper nor the judicial mind (one smiles to read in the biographies that he was once a State judge) which the new era demanded, and he became the hindrance which all partisans become who keep charging up and down the field when the burying of the dead is going on, and both sides are levelling the earthworks and putting things to rights. His latest public utterances were fiercely denunciatory of President Hayes's Southern "policy." Mr. Wade was born in Springfield, Mass., in 1800, and removed to Ohio in 1818, where, after ten years, he was admitted to the bar. His first political office was that of State Senator, in 1837, when already he honorably distinguished himself by his hostility to slavery and color prejudice. In 1851 he was sent to the United States Senate. In 1869, he had some claims, as an ex-Congressman if nothing more, to a seat in Grant's cabinet, but it was not offered him. In 1871 he accepted an appointment on the San Domingo Commission, and became an ardent advocate of annexation.

—The 'Théâtre de Campagne,' of which we last year noticed the first two series, met with so much success that a third volume has just been issued and is already in its second edition. It contains ten pieces, varying in length from a poem of nine short stanzas, "Les Prunes," by M. Alphonse Daudet, to "La Force des Femmes," a comedy by M. Henri Meilhac, extending over seventy-five pages. None of these little plays is quite as good as the best in the preceding volumes, but perhaps their average merit is higher. All of them, except possibly M. Meilhac's, are innocent and fit to be read aloud by young ladies. To any one who believes in the theory that the French drama of the day is wholly given over to the devil we can recommend a reading of the twenty-eight plays, by many of the leading authors of the time, contained in the three volumes. They are nearly all quite clean, nearly all amusing, and nearly all very neatly done. Those who never weary of studying the proofs of the continuity of the human species will find agreeable reading M. A. Joly's 'Histoire de deux fables de La Fontaine, leur origines et leurs pérégrinations.' The two fables here discussed are both from the seventh book, viz., *Les animaux malades de la peste* and *La*

littérature et la put en fait, and their wanderings from India through Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Spain, Italy, and yet other European countries, and their numberless transformations, are discussed in two learned and curious chapters. In an appendix the texts borrowed from other literatures are gathered together. Wuttke's work on German journalism and the formation of public opinion, 'Der Reptilienfond,' is now accessible in a French translation, 'Le Fonds des reptiles.' The unproductive epoch of the First Empire has seemed to M. Gustave Merlet to stand in need of rehabilitation, and he has accordingly devoted a considerable work to it under the title of 'Tableau de la littérature française, 1800-1815,' the first volume being concerned with the religious, philosophical, and poetic movement, as embodied in Bonald, De Maistre, and Chateaubriand. Two kindred works noticed by M. Charles de Ribbe in the February *Polybiblion* seem also to merit the attention of students of history and society. These are 'Le Village sous l'ancien régime' of M. Alfred Babeau, and 'La Vie de province au 18e siècle' of M. Anatole de Gallier; the latter being an interesting collection of letters forming part of the correspondence of a distinguished provincial family, the Aymons of Dauphiny.

AMERICANS IN TURKEY.*

'AMONG THE TURKS' is a book containing sketches of the personal experience of a missionary who resided for thirty-five years in Turkey, chiefly in Constantinople, and giving at the same time various anecdotes and stories, all of which are entertaining, with remarks and inferences which, in many cases, are not borne out by the context. Dr. Hamlin is a remarkable man, and combines with a high intellectual faculty an executive ability and a power of practical work which are very rare among missionaries, and even among ordinary men. He has made a greater impression, and we think, too, has done more good, than any missionary, or in fact than any American who has ever been in Turkey; but we are inclined to believe that his judgments are sometimes hasty, and that living in a certain groove—chiefly in the capital—he has not, even in the thirty-five years of his residence in Turkey, had a sufficiently large experience to enable him to prove certain theories which he puts forward. In one respect particularly Dr. Hamlin is untrustworthy as a guide. While knowing little about Russia, he fears and dislikes that country. His fear seems chiefly directed to one point, viz., that if Russian influence should become predominant in Turkey the missionaries would not be so able as before to turn Armenian and Greek Christians into Protestants, for of the conversion of the Turks there is as yet very little thought, and the American missionaries in Turkey do not occupy themselves with the Jews. This feeling has influenced, without doubt insensibly, many of the statements and deductions in the book before us, and it is to be feared that Dr. Hamlin has rather injured than improved his cause by his dislike of Russia and his suspicion of Russian plots and intrigues when they were not.

In reading a book like this, which, while not exclusively devoted to instances of missionary work, has yet so much to say of missionaries and Americans in Turkey, one is naturally led to enquire what in reality have the Americans done and what are they now doing there? These are broad questions which can scarcely be answered within the limits of a brief review, but to which at present it is difficult to find any satisfactory answer. Certainly none can be gained from the columns of the missionary and religious journals, where simple facts are confused with what—for want of a better and more polite term—must be called missionary slang. In advance, it is a pleasure to say that the missionaries have done great good in Turkey; but it has been more by their secular work, of which Dr. Hamlin has given such an interesting account, than by their religious work. They have done good, not by making converts and building Protestant churches, by ordaining native Protestant teachers and by distributing broadcast amongst the people tracts against the rites and beliefs of the Eastern Christians, but by their schools, by their readiness to assist in any works of charity and humanity, and by the outside influences which have accompanied them. The Protestant communities which they have founded are composed, as a general rule, of men of no station or repute among their fellow-countrymen, and who have frequently been more of a burden than a profit to the mission, and who exercise no appreciable influence on the towns and villages in which they reside.

Turkey, as a mission field, has been distributed between the American Board of Missions, the Methodist missions, and the Presby-

terian missions; the Methodists devoting themselves chiefly to Bulgaria and the neighborhood of the Balkans, the Presbyterians to Syria and Palestine, and the American Board taking the rest. Roughly speaking, the missionaries themselves may be divided into two classes—those whose sole aim is to do good, and those whose chief aim is to proselytize and Protestantize. The writer is unable from personal experience to say anything about the results or working of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board in Syria, but as far as the others are concerned, it seems to him that the Methodist missionaries are those who generally aim at doing good first of all, and who have consequently done the most good and have exercised the most prominent influence. Dr. Hamlin, though not a Methodist, belongs to the first class, though we think with considerable longings towards the second class. The results of the labors of the Methodist missionaries in Bulgaria have certainly been very great. They taught notions of cleanliness, health, economy, and honesty, and devoted themselves especially to education and the founding of schools, and it is not too much to say that the renaissance of the Bulgarian people was in great part a consequence of their efforts. Lately, however, the Methodist mission in Bulgaria has been considerably reduced, while the missions of the American Board have taken a larger development than hitherto. Unfortunately, these missions fell in part into the hands of men who put proselytizing and Protestantizing in the first place and doing good in the second. Their schools were intended primarily for Protestants, and they objected to what they considered secular education. They distributed tracts aimed at some of the doctrines and rites of the National Bulgarian Church, while the Methodists had preferred to open the spiritual eyes of men to the knowledge of the superstitions and errors of their church, and had never pressed them to leave this communion. The present school of missionaries, however, insists on a separation from the Bulgarian Church, and urges strongly the formation of separate Protestant communities. It can be readily seen that of late years such a movement would be very unpopular in Bulgaria, because all Protestants were immediately thought to be unpatriotic. As possessing a separate organization, they refused to pay the voluntary taxes which other Bulgarians contributed to the support of the national schools, and held themselves aloof from the nation as such. This naturally brought the missionaries into disfavor with the leading Bulgarians, and as naturally caused them to rely for support upon the Turkish rulers of the country, who were glad in every way to foster discord and division among the Christian rayahs. It brought about a certain tolerance on the part of the Turks to the American missionaries not hitherto shown, and as a resultant, a certain sympathy on the part of the missionaries for the Turks. Whatever we may consider the faults of these missionaries to have been, they have entirely redeemed them since the beginning of the present war in Turkey by their great devotion to works of charity and benevolence. To these they have given themselves up heart and soul, and what they consider to be their real missionary work has for the past year been entirely at a stand-still.

Dr. Hamlin has given an interesting account of the beginning and the growth of Robert College, the best educational institution in Constantinople, one with which Dr. Hamlin has been from the beginning intimately associated, and one which, although started by missionaries, is now entirely distinct from them. Indeed, Robert College was for a long time an object of distrust among the missionaries of Constantinople, and in some of them this feeling has not yet died out. They opposed it on the ground that it furnishes a secular and not a strictly Protestant education, and that students go there simply for the purpose of getting knowledge which may be useful to them in business, and not for the purpose of becoming teachers and preachers of the Gospel. The results, however, of the working of this institution have been so striking, and its influence has been so great—and will be still greater—on the development of liberal ideas in Turkey that even the greatest sticklers for Protestant doctrines are beginning to be reconciled to its existence. While Robert College gives in one sense a secular education, it is by no means an un-Christian one. Prayers are read daily, and the truths of Christianity in which all sects agree are preached to the students twice every Sunday; but no attempt is made to instil into them the peculiar doctrines of any one sect. It is the greatest missionary institution, in the true sense of the word, which any country has ever erected in the East, and in moral and true civilizing influence is worth the Bible House and all the other establishments of the American Board of Missions in Turkey put together. Dr. Hamlin speaks of three schools of thought among the missionaries with regard to education: those who believe that the missionaries should do nothing for education, but should simply preach the Gospel; those who believe simply in

* 'Among the Turks.' By Cyrus Hamlin. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1878.

a vernacular education, with all its limitations; and those who would give an English education of a high grade. The failure of the first system is now acknowledged; the second, that of education simply in the vernacular, was introduced by the American missionaries into Turkey, in consequence of a change of system, about 1854, and its results cannot be considered as happy. Robert College in this has the advantage over the American college at Beirut, and over the new college just started at Aintab. At Beirut the language of instruction is Arabic; at Aintab it is Turkish. There is great difficulty in finding suitable text-books, and the students being instructed in no foreign language are thereby cut off from still further improvement. At Robert College the principle was laid down that all the studies must be pursued in English; but, in addition to this, each student must study his native language and literature. By this means the best literature of the world is open to them, and the moral and intellectual influence of England and America—which, after all, is the most civilizing influence in the world—becomes more and more widespread in the East. At Beirut, on the other hand, there is an excellent medical school, such as does not exist in Turkey, and the students who graduate there are thoroughly prepared for their work; but then their progress must stop there. Their teaching has been entirely in Arabic, and unless they find time outside of their duties to learn French, German, or English, they are cut off from making any further advance in their profession.

In saying this, it is not by any means intended to imply that all the schools in the vernacular language should be abolished. The missionaries have done very good work among the Bulgarians and, to a certain extent, among the Armenians, by forming schools, which the native priests and school-teachers have imitated and endeavored to surpass. They have done much for the progress of native education. But schools where the vernacular languages are solely taught should be merely elementary schools; and the moment an attempt is made to introduce a medium or higher education, English should be the language of instruction. Children, especially in the East, learn languages so easily that the teacher's work is greatly facilitated.

With regard to the success or the value of the chief educational establishment at Constantinople, managed by the missionaries proper—"The Home School" for girls at Scutari—it is more difficult to express an opinion. Objections are made to it by various sensible people, on the ground that the education given there—for it aims to be a model of a girls' school of the highest class—is too good for the class of girls who frequent it, who are mostly from the poorer ranks of society. The richer classes of Greeks and Armenians who desire to give their daughters the best possible education do not send them to "the Home," because that school is too Protestant and so entirely under missionary influence. It seems, too, a little absurd to the profane to find a missionary school teaching the piano, drawing, French, Italian, and other accomplishments, with a charge for tuition of £25, when the class of girls who attend it would be much better off if taught to cook, to sew, and to attend to the sick, in addition, of course, to a plain ordinary English education. Women in the East, owing to old and inveterate restrictions, do not yet need as high an education as men.

BARTLETT'S DICTIONARY OF AMERICANISMS.*

IN the third volume of the 'New Voyages and Travels' published by Sir Richard Phillips & Co., London, in the first quarter of the present century, the editor introduces Sanson's Travels in Lower Canada (made in 1817) with a singular apology, to wit, that

"He has preferred to allow Mr. Sanson to speak for himself in his own words, conceiving that this would be more just towards him; and that, as a specimen of Americanisms used by a man of good education, the work would thus be a greater curiosity to those English readers who are not aware of the deterioration which the language is suffering in the United States. For analogous reasons, many opinions of the Republican author are retained, because they will add to the interest of the work, though they may sometimes offend by their coarseness and evident want of discrimination."

Sixty years have wrought no great change in the views of Englishmen of the literary class on this subject. They still look with curiosity on our trans-Atlantic neologisms, real or imaginary, and still shake their heads over the decay of the language in Greater Britain. The least a British reviewer of an American book can do is to point out the traces of its origin, as when the *Athenæum* remarked the other day of Southgate's

'Cross above the Crescent' that "a few Americanisms here and there will sound strangely to the ear of an English reader"; while international spite or prejudice finds a natural vent in damning every unfortunate locution as an American corruption. Few scholars are able to employ the historical method in exposing reckless assertions of the latter sort, and still fewer are interested in so doing. But long before *reliable* found so formidable an apologist in Dr. Fitzedward Hall, Mr. John Russell Bartlett had shown in his 'Dictionary of Americanisms' that Englishmen not seldom denounced, as American, words and phrases which had come over with the colonists and had survived here in respectable usage, while in the mother-country they were still obscure provincialisms, obsolescent sometimes if not obsolete. There remained, however, a large number of undoubted products of the Yankee genius, and to keep pace with the manufacture of these, and so to furnish posterity a key to words and meanings now current but certain to change or to drop out of use, as well as to give the lexicographer a clue to their origin, not only a first, but a second, a third, and now a fourth edition of the Dictionary has been required. We welcome it with grateful acknowledgments for the persistent devotion to a good idea which finds a parallel only in that perennial work of another scholarly and diligent Bartlett, the 'Familiar Quotations.'

The third edition of the 'Americanisms' was closed in 1859, and we have but to reflect on our civil revolution since that date to conceive how large an addition has been made to Mr. Bartlett's vocabulary from this source alone. Thus, we find *bummer*; *Confederates*, and its military equivalent, *Butternuts*; *contrabands*, ascribed as usual to General Butler; *copperhead*, defined as "a venomous biped, of Northern birth and Southern tendencies"; *monitor*, for an iron-clad vessel, a name of course in the first instance peculiar to the antagonist of the *Merrimac*, but well chosen, apparently, by Ericsson as indicating the chief use of all ironclads, to keep watch and ward at home; *Scoosh*; *skedaddle*, of which the etymology is laboriously but fruitlessly discussed, etc. We miss in this war catalogue the cant army phrase "to *blunder*," in the sense of 'to plunder.' *Jayhawker* is, in the preface and *sub verbo*, assigned to the war period, but men not very old can remember that it was first heard during the Kansas struggle, and on page 812 Mr. Bartlett even sets down this word as a nickname of the people of Kansas. To the ante-war period belongs also the new illustration under *let slide*—Banks's famous remark about the Union; and room might well have been made for Caleb Cushing's *man on horseback* (*videl.* Caesar), as well as Mr. Seward's *irrepressible conflict*. Passing on to the era of Reconstruction, we find *carpet-bagger*, for which Mr. Bartlett gives well-chosen definitions by the *North American Review*, President Hayes, and Wade Hampton, and an example of its use in a poem by Dr. Holmes on the late Presidential contest; *Ku-Klux*; *bloody shirt*; *bulldoze*, to which a Louisiana correspondent of Mr. Bartlett ascribes a negro origin both as a word and as a practice! Under this head we miss *swinging round the circle*, and, more singular than that, *Reconstruction* itself, a distinct Americanism. Our recent financial experience has enriched the Dictionary with *greenback*, of which Mr. Bartlett says, "Mr. Chase told the writer that he claimed the honor of adding the term to our vocabulary"; *greenbackers*, the swindling party whose paternity Mr. Chase would doubtless disown without thanks; *demonetize* and *remonetize*; *dollar of the fathers*; *inflationist*; and *rag-baby*. Perhaps in this connection (if we may venture to employ "a New-England phrase used to such a degree that it has become quite shocking to nervous people," p. 139) we should also mention *Granger* as a politico-economical neologism not overlooked by Mr. Bartlett.

The Addenda contains a list of words both recent and long-established. Among the latter we should enumerate *butter-fingers*, *corn-balls*, *cut-and-dried*, *gang-saw*, *jack-straws*, *man-fashion*, *rocking-chair*, *Shaker*, *skin of his teeth*, *spoiling for a fight*, *slick a pin*; among the former, *back seat* (why was Andrew Johnson's "back seat in reconstruction" not cited?), *bad egg*, *big thing*, *cheese it*, *Colorado beetle*, *dry up*, *flint in*, *gone where the woodbine twineth* (we miss Mr. Boutwell's *hole-in-the-sky*), *hoodlum*, *ink-slinger*, *jack-stone* (of the metal variety), *Oneida Community*, *oughtness* (coined by the Rev. Joseph Cook), *put-up job*, *'rah 'rah 'rah* (the Harvard cheer), *sewing-machine*. To go to *Bungay* is now first recorded, and so is to *pass in your checks*, correctly defined by Mr. Bartlett, though it proved a sad stumbling-block to Prof. Schele de Vere. A *square vote*, *square meal*, *on the square*, etc., were unknown to the third edition, and so was the non-New-England use of *square* for a block of houses. *Dipper*, a vessel, and consequently the name of the constellation, is of course older than the Dictionary itself, and is in both senses a downright Americanism, but is now first noticed by Mr. Bartlett. In explaining the phrase to *talk Turkey* he abandons his former definition

* 'Dictionary of Americanisms: A Glossary of Words and Phrases usually regarded as peculiar to the United States. By John Russell Bartlett.' Fourth edition. Greatly improved and enlarged. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1877.

and illustration altogether, and inserts the well-known story of the Indian and white man from which it is derived. The recent slang use of *shoot* as an exclamation of contempt is copiously illustrated. To *sell short* is apparently an innovation on the Street. Another cant term among brokers, *point*, is correctly defined by Mr. Bartlett to mean private information about stocks, etc., but he omits that other meaning which can best be expressed as the "unit of change" in the market rate of any given commodity, whether gold or cotton; it is not, at least as a rule, synonymous with per cent. To *claim*, in the sense of assert or profess, "is not found in the dictionaries," and is now newly inserted, but it was so used long ago—we have met with it in books published in the thirties—and it is now so common among writers of all classes in England that we should expect to find it a parallel growth on both sides of the Atlantic, or as likely an Anglicism as an Americanism. *Reliable*, also new to this dictionary, is, as Dr. Hall has shown, as old as the century, and probably Coleridge's invention. A third interloper, to *intervene*, has here no date attached to it. We incline to think it first appeared in these columns, but, apropos of this, on p. 209, vol. x. of the *Nation* (March 31, 1870), we ceded our claims to priority in favor of 'Hall's Chronicle' (1542), where the verb was said by the *Pall Mall Gazette* to have been used transitively. The remarks on *guess* seem to us less satisfactory than those in the third edition. That our use of the word, even when we can substitute "think" for it, still has an immediate reference to "conjecture," is shown by the fact that we might as naturally substitute "reckon" or "calculate." Our ejaculatory *well!* receives separate attention, and a flood of light from Mr. Lowell. *Gerrymandering* is enlarged upon and illustrated by a cut which must, we think, have done duty in Professor Ware's paper on Proportional Representation in the *American Law Review* for January, 1872. This paper might in any event have been alluded to. *In-ty*, said to have been used in New England sixty years ago for 'certainly,' 'indeed,' is surmised to come from French *entier* (Irish, *entirely*). Prof. Allen, in 'Slave Songs of the United States,' reports the use of *enty?* in the Sea Islands, "used like our 'Is that so?'" in reply to a statement that surprises one." The same author suggests a Huguenot origin for some other negro corruptions, but does not propose *entier* for this.

It remains to mention a few Americanisms conspicuous by their absence from Mr. Bartlett's pages. To *weaken*, *i. e.* 'to grow weak,' has no little vogue in the newspapers of the day. When Col. Forney says of his *Weekly Press* that it is the "*newsiest* paper in the country," he shows his familiarity with reporters' English. A publisher's paper-dealer assures him that his stock has only rags *into* it. *Dodgers* are hand-bills distributed in advance of a "great moral show." The boy who throws prize candy and magazines before you in the cars is said to *lap* them. (Similarly, the inmates of a sleeping-car at Pittsburg the other day were turned out by the porter for the reason that it had to be *shopped*, *i. e.*, sent to the repair-shop.) A *jack-screw* is in England, we believe, known as a *screw-jack*. The Beecher trial has left some lasting, if not indelible, marks on our phraseology. *True inwardness* is used in the fifth report of the Co-operation Committee of the American Library Association (see No. 12 *Am. Library Journal*, p. 429), and *step down and out* and *all that the name implies* and *ragged edge* are heard every day. *Chromocivilization*, the invention of the late J. R. Dennett, confessedly supplied a gap in our terms of precision. Greeley's *Go West* is a school-boy's word for "quit!" Grant's *fight it out on this line* is proverbial. Mr. Bartlett owes many of his accessions to Bret Harte, but *rise to explain* is not among them. Mr. Grant White's *heterophemy* perhaps deserved a place on his list. Under *scap* we might have looked for Mr. Lincoln's advice about swapping horses while crossing a stream; under *spoils*, for Marcy's "To the victors belong the spoils." There are many applications of *fix* cited, but *firing things* and *firing primaries* are wanted. The *machine* is also ignored; and so are *war-horses* and *favorite sons*. Johnson's *My policy* is not more fortunate. Finally, in the phrase "he has a bad record," we use, and use frequently, a word incomprehensible to Englishmen without explanation, and which ought to be noted in a fifth edition.

A few words by way of criticism. Mr. Bartlett has not repaired two original defects in his plan: he has not been uniformly careful to give the exact date of the periodicals from which he quotes (as Littré has done so punctiliously in his Supplement), and he has not, what was quite practicable, appended a list of the works cited, with date of first publication. Without these aids a foreigner finds it impossible to discriminate between obsolete and living Americanisms, and the value of the Dictionary to the historical lexicographer is greatly diminished. We conclude our rambling remarks by expressing our regret that the present edition of the

'Americanisms' is markedly inferior to that of 1860, the last preceding. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the two will perceive a great falling off in paper and typography, and it might be inferred that the publishers had lowered their notoriously high standard, if we did not know from other examples that the art of book-making in Boston has, since 1860, suffered a serious decline. We hope Mr. Justin Winsor's proposed University Press may become a reality and do something to restore and maintain the old standards.

Mirage. By George Fleming, author of 'Kismet.' (Boston: Roberts Bros.)—We had occasion, some months since, to speak of 'Kismet' as a clever and promising novel, and we are happy to be able to say that the author of 'Kismet' has redeemed the pledge of that work with even greater promptness than was to be expected. 'Mirage' strikes us as very clever indeed, and as a decided advance upon its predecessor. Its faults are the same—excessive slightness of subject and an unbusiness-like way of telling the story, which is put before the reader too much by mere allusion and rather redundant dialogue—but they are much less striking. On the other hand, the merits of the book—great charm of description, a great deal of fineness of observation, a great deal of wit in the conversations, a constant facility and grace of style—these good points are decidedly more noticeable. Like 'Kismet,' 'Mirage' is a slight love-story interwoven in the account of a journey in the East. In the former tale the author set her characters afloat upon the Nile (we say "her" characters, for, in spite of the name upon the title-page, the tone of these pages is irremediably feminine), and in the present performance she conducts them on horseback through the charming incidents of a tour in Syria and Palestine. A large portion of her narrative is given over to description, which is always very well done—very vivid and real; so that the book comes under the perilous head of that class of literature which is vulgarly known as "scenery novels." But she escapes the danger of dullness by the success with which she usually renders a fresh, personal impression of the country. Some of the pictures in these pages are very charming indeed, and we should like to have space to quote them.

A more serious danger with the author of 'Mirage' seems to be a disposition to content herself with altogether too slender a dramatic pivot. The *donnée* of the present tale is a very insubstantial foundation for a long story. There is a Miss Constance Varley, who has been invited to travel in Syria with Mr. and Mrs. Thayer. She is in love with Denis Lawrence, supposedly "unbeknown," as the comic writers say, to the gentleman. She has left him in America, but he turns up unexpectedly at Damascus, and proves also to be in love with her. The young lady has another devotee in the person of Mr. Jack Stuart, who has been travelling in her company, and for whom she can bring herself to entertain no sentiment more tender than friendly esteem. But Lawrence supposes that she is in love with Stuart, and therefore, though he spends much time in sitting with Miss Varley, in great intimacy, among the Damascene orchards in springtime, he never declares his passion. The young girl, on her side, is dying of love for him, and yet she gratuitously and unnaturally allows him to rest in his error. He takes an abrupt leave of her, and she then marries young Stuart, while Lawrence (who is a very clever artist) paints her portrait from memory, and gives it the title of "Mirage." Even if a larger amount of motive were attributed to Miss Varley's conduct, the incident would be rather slight for the author's purpose; and, as the case stands—the reader being quite unable to conceive why she should not take the simple and natural course of resenting, almost with indignation (a highly probable impulse in a girl, given the circumstances), the imputation of being "engaged" to Stuart—as the case stands, we say, the theme is reduced to the level of one of those little romances which adorn the weekly "story-papers." The heroine is very gracefully sketched, though the author is to a certain extent guilty of the regrettable tendency, common among American writers of fiction, of making her utter those "smart" comicalities which are the note of the "lady-correspondents" of certain journals. The prosaic, yet manly, personality of the accepted lover is very clearly indicated; but the æsthetic young man who fails so awkwardly to come to an understanding with his mistress has a rather shadowy and insalubrious air. Very noteworthy is the partiality of American story-tellers for æsthetic heroes. The usual English novelist, desiring to provide a heroine with an interesting and inspiring suitor, picks out a brilliant young man of affairs—a rising young statesman or a prospective commander-in-chief, a man of action, in short, of some kind. The American narrator, on the other hand, is prone, less gloriously, to select an artist, with a "sensitive mouth." The secondary figures in

'Mirage' strike us as the more successful, and they abound, indeed, in clever touches. In especial, the author says very good things about them. The sketch of the young Oxford neopagan, Davenant, is really brilliant; and very good is the English family, the Vaughan-Smythes, encountered by the Sea of Galilee, who are so eager to partake of the fish of its waters, and among whom the mater-familias remarks that in travelling in the Holy Land she makes it a point of conscience to have a *Christian* dragoman! With so much that is agreeable and clever, 'Mirage' strikes us as the work of a person who might write a better novel yet, and we should be curious to see the result of her attempting to tell a story pure and simple—a story which should not be at the same time a record of reminiscences of travel. She has a delicacy of observation and a certain liberty of mind which might go far; the present book is infinitely fresher and wittier than ninety-nine-hundredths of the novels periodically emitted by the regular group of English fiction-mongers. But, even if the author attempts nothing else or nothing different, 'Mirage' will remain an eminently readable story.

Gerrit Smith: A Biography. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.)—Perhaps no body of men in modern times has presented more completely the type of the Hebrew prophets than the American Abolitionists when, a generation ago, they were resolutely urging the country into a course in which cool-headed statesmen could see nothing but ruin, but which, in the result, did rid the nation of a monstrous incubus. In this remarkable group of men nothing is more remarkable than the variety of phases of individual character and abilities to be found among them. There was a certain monotonousness in this unceasing and unsparing assault on the institution and on everything that defended it or apologized for it; but, withal, there was an astonishing variety in style and in temper. No two men (or women) out of the whole number could be pronounced alike.

Of them all there was, perhaps, none more completely individual than Gerrit Smith, taking him as he was by nature and as he had been made by exceptional circumstances. Perhaps it may be said of him that the most individual thing about him was his individuality itself. That is, his mind was not in itself remarkable for power or acuteness. His conclusions could not command assent for any recognized supremacy of intellect which imposed his views upon his followers merely because he held them, as with real intellectual leaders like Webster, Calhoun, and Garrison. Nor, although an effective speaker, did he possess the wonderful persuasive power of Clay or Phillips. But he was completely independent, so far as it is in the power of any man to be so, and came to conclusions—whether logically and wisely or not—which were absolutely his own, derived, too, quite as much from his sentiments as his reasoning powers. All these men were independent; but with Gerrit Smith independence of conviction was, it seems to us, a larger portion of self than with any of the others.

Add to this a social position more nearly akin to the baronial than perhaps that of any other person in the Northern States. In the admi-

nable and discriminating discussion of his character in the closing chapter Mr. Frothingham notes (p. 375) the demoralizing effects of his generosity upon the community in which he lived. "His negro colonies wasted away; his runaway slaves came to no good in Northern cities; he ruined his beloved Peterboro by excessive indulgence, doing so much for the villagers that they became quite incapable of doing anything for themselves. His generosity dried up the sources of public spirit and made men positively sordid." Peterboro and Gerrit Smith were, to be sure, an unusual instance. But is not this always the case in this country where a single man is richer and more eminent than all his townsmen? An American village cannot afford to have a lord of the manor, even the wisest and most public-spirited.

It was Mr. Smith's individuality that made his Congressional career—as so many judged—a failure. At the height of a tremendous struggle, as parties were then, a man could not be independent without damaging his own cause. The judgment was perhaps pardonable then; but at the present day, when there are no party issues at all, it is this party despotism that ruins our politics. Independents like him would be of incalculable value now, while parties are looking around them for something to fight about. This episode of Washington life gives occasion to one of the pleasantest pages in the book, that in which his hospitality at Washington is described. "Hospitality" is, perhaps, the one characteristic of Gerrit Smith by which he is most widely known, and, as exercised at Peterboro, it occupies another interesting passage (pp. 137-143):

"The hospitalities of Peterboro were revived at Washington. He gave two dinners each week and invited every member of the House. At his table men of all parties and all conditions met and sat down together. The Southerners, in especial, were fascinated by the open-handed, wide-hearted welcome the man extended. . . . His pleasant association with slaveholders exposed him to suspicion and criticism, as similar associations with Pharisees and women who were 'sinners' exposed one who was greater than he. . . . But to their opinions and habits he made no concession. There was no wine on his table; he offered no cigars; he countenanced no rudeness or indelicacy. His guests took him as he was, and were glad to, for his originality was his charm" (p. 217).

We have said more of the man than of the book; but this is the highest compliment that can be paid to a biography—that the author is forgotten, and only the man whose life is written remembered.

* Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Beecher (Rev. E.), History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Flint (Dr. A. J.), Source of Muscular Power.	(Macmillan & Co.) \$10.00
Gray (Rev. J. H.), China, 2 vols.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Huxley (Prof. F. H.), Physiography, 2d ed.	(Macmillan & Co.) 2.50
James (H. J.), French Poets and Novelists.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1.00
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Lavelleye (E. de), Primitive Property.	(Macmillan & Co.)
Martin (T.), Life of H.R.H. the Prince Consort, Vol. III.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 10.00
Masson (Prof. D.), Life of John Milton, Vols. IV. and V.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1.50
Platt (Mrs. S. M. B.), Poems in Company with Children.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 50
Putnam's Library Companion, Vol. I.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 3.50
Stubbs (Prof. W.), Constitutional History of England, Vol. III.	(Macmillan & Co.)
Walker (Prof. F. A.), Reports and Awards, International Exhibition, 1876, swd.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 50

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